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[For additional information on cultural trait distribution, see Category 171.]

● 17

[For additional information on the history of slavery in Georgia, South Carolina and the coastal Sea Islands, see Category 175.]

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g *Nassau says of the West Coast natives:* "Lately a fellow missionary told me that in a conversation with certain natives, professed Christians, they admitted their fear lest their nail-clippings should be used against them by an enemy, and candidly acknowledged that when they pared their nails they threw the pieces on the thatch of the low roof of their house."
Fetichism in West Africa, p. 104.

h *Talbot says of the Ibibio tribes:* ". . . witches and wizards try to obtain hair, nail-clippings, or a piece of cloth long worn by the person whom they desire to injure."
Life in Southern Nigeria, p. 65.

i *"Ekanem, witness for prosecutor, stated on oath:* 'I remember Ofuo Afaha Eke telling me that Tomkpata had come to his mother in a dream and cut off some of her hair. So next day she went to him and said that he must restore her soul.' Ofuo Afaha Eke, sworn, stated: 'Tomkpata is my elder brother, I complained to him that my mother had dreamed a dream in which she saw him cut off her hair with scissors. From this we knew that he was trying to snare her soul.'"
Life in Southern Nigeria, p. 122.

11. *Charms and bad luck signs, house and property*

a *Burton says of Dahome:* "Every house has its 'fetish' hanging up, and every man has a 'fetish' charm about his person. There is a devil fetish for driving away evil spirits, and another for bringing good luck."
A Mission to Gelele, King of Dahome, II, *361.*

b *Ellis says of the Yoruba:* "An *onde* for the protection of the person is worn on the body, being tied round the wrist, neck, or ankle, or placed in the hair. Others, for the protection of property, are fastened to houses, or tied to sticks and stumps of trees in cultivated plots of ground. In consequence of their being tied on to the person or object they protect, the word *edi*, which really means the act of tying or binding, has now the meaning of amulet or charm, just as

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•17 in Ewé the word *vǒ-sesa* (amulet) is derived from *vǒ* and *sa*, to tie or bind."

17 *The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa, p. 118.*

c *Farrow says of the Yoruba:* "Charms and amulets of various kinds are greatly used by the Yorubas. The Bale, or head-chief, of Ogbomosho, being of a particularly nervous and superstitious nature, had not only a number of tutelary gods guarding the threshold of his dwelling, but had laid in the ground, from one side of his compound to the other, chains and other charms to render each person who approached him powerless to do any evil. Charms for the protection of property are fastened to the houses, etc. They may consist of sticks, stumps of trees, etc."
Faith, Fancies and Fetich, p. 123.

d *Beckwith says:* "Other acts are to be avoided lest they pay the penalty of death to the immediate family. Never add to a house or cut down an old tree."
Black Roadways, p. 87.

12. *Charms, medicinal*

a *Delafosse says of the African in general:* "Belief . . . in the power of amulets and talismans is legendary among the Negroes. There is not one of them, whatever his religion, who does not wear on his body several 'gris-gris,' of which one is to preserve him from such and such a malady, a second from the evil eye."
Negroes of Africa, pp. 236–37.

b *Ellis says of the Yoruba:* "Another word sometimes used to express amulet is *ogun*, which, however, more properly means medicinal preparation, poison, or magical drug."
The Yoruba-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa, p. 118.

c *Melville and Frances Herskovits say of the Bush Negro of Dutch Guiana:* "We had not been long in her hut before we noticed the iron arm-band she wore. It was, we knew, a '*tapu*'—a magical preventive which, in this instance,

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17 25. *Drums, manufacture of*

a *DuPuis says of Ansah:* "The large drums were carried on the heads of men, and beaten in that posture; but the small ones were slung as kettle drums. These added to calabashes and gourds filled with shot or small stones, concave bits of iron, and striking sticks, will give an idea of the national taste in harmonic matters."
Journal of a Residence in Ashantee, p. 43.

b *Ellis says of the Gold Coast:* "Drums are made of the hollowed sections of trunks of trees, with a goat's or sheep's skin stretched over one end. They are from one foot to four feet high, and vary in diameter from about six to fourteen inches. Two or three drums are usually used together, each drum producing a different note, and they are played either with the fingers or with two sticks. The lookers-on generally beat time by clapping the hands."
The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa, p. 326.

c *Herskovits says of Haiti:* "Drums, iron, and rattles are indispensable for a *vodun* dance. The drums, of the characteristic hollow-log African type, tuned with pegs inserted in the sides and reinforced with twine wound about the stretched heads of cow-hide or goat-skin, are played in batteries of three, the largest being called *manman*, the middle the *seconde*, and the smallest the *bula*."
Life in a Haitian Valley, pp. 181–82.

d *Herskovits says of Dahomey:* "Generally the drums are of the usual African type, made of a hollowed-out log with a more or less crudely carved foot, its head of animal skin being attached to pegs inserted into the body of the drum, just below its upper end. The drum-head is tightened by driving these pegs into the drum until the required note is sounded, since by this method the skin is stretched to produce the desired tone. Ordinarily the attachment of the head to the pegs is by means of strips of the skin itself; in some forms, however, a cord attachment is used. A small barrel drum, the only one of its kind observed, about eight-

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•17 een inches high and twelve inches in diameter, and which does not have a foot, is used in the Sagbatá rites. The other more conventional drums range from two feet in size to a length of five feet and more."
Dahomey, II, *318*.

171 e *Moore says of the Mandingo:* ". . . with him came two or three Women, and the same Number of Mundingo Drums, which are about a Yard long, and a Foot, or twenty Inches diameter at the Top, but less at the Bottom, made out of a solid Piece of Wood, and covered, only at the widest End, with the Skin of a Kid. They beat upon them with only one Stick, and their left Hand, to which the Women will dance very briskly."
Travels Into the Inland Parts of Africa, p. 64.

f *Ward says of the Bakongo country:* "The natives were drumming on a goat-skin stretched tightly across the mouth of a hollowed-out log, and dancing round a fire lighted in their midst, one man singing a refrain, while others took up the chorus; and the mingled sound of the voices and the distant beating of other drums in neighboring villages helped to keep me awake."
Five Years with the Congo Cannibals, p. 68.

g *Beckwith says:* "The beating of the gombay drum is a familiar accompaniment of death."
Black Roadways, p. 83.

26. *Drum Messages*

a *Rattray says of Ashanti:* "A great deal is heard in Africa about the wonderful way in which news can be passed on over great distances in an incredibly short space of time. It has been reported that the news of the fall of Khartum was known among the natives of Sierra Leone the same day, and other equally wonderful instances are quoted to show that the native has some extraordinary rapid means of communicating important events. It must, however, be remembered that most of the instances that one hears quoted are incapable of verification, and would, moreover, probably be found

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171 c *Rattray says of Ashanti:* "There appear to be at least three great festivals which are held by the Talense in connexion with the crops and harvest."
The Tribes of the Ashanti Hinterland, II, *358–59.*

d *Talbot says of the Ibibio tribes:*—"At the time of new yam planting, people came from far and near to beg protection and increase for their crops and herds. On such occasions the brow of the chief priest is bound with a fillet of white cloth, which may not be taken off till the time of sacrifice comes round again. He marks all the people with white chalk, as a sign that they have attended the festival and asked the blessing of the genius of the pool."
Life in Southern Nigeria, p. 38.

•17 39. *Hoe, magic*

a *Rattray repeats a Hausa folk tale:* "When he struck one blow on the ground with the hoe, then he climbed on the hoe and sat down, and the hoe started to hoe, and fairly flew until it had done as much as the hoers. It passed them, and reached the boundary of the furrow."
Hausa Folk-Lore Customs, Proverbs, Etc., I, *74–76.*

b *Rattray tells an Ashanti folk tale:* "The Hoe turned over a huge tract (of land). Then they stopped work and went off, and the Porcupine took the hoe and hid it. And Kwaku, the Spider, saw (where he put it). He said, 'This hoe that I have seen, to-morrow very, very early I shall come and take it to do my work.' Truly, very, very, very early, the Spider went and got it; he took to his farm. Now, the Spider did not know how to make it stop, and he raised his song:

'Gyensaworowa, Kotoko, saworowa.
Gyensaworowa, Kotoko, saworowa,
Gyensaworowa.'

And the Hoe, when it commenced hoeing, continued hoeing. And it hoed until it came too far away. Now it reached the Sea-god's water. Thence it came to the Land of White-men-far, and the White men took it, and looked at it, and made

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•17 does not depend, as that of much other sculpture does, on elaborate superficial decoration scratched upon a weak and vaguely realized mass. There is rarely a sense of overdecoration or pretense, a feeling of inner rottenness, as though, one could squash the whole fabric between the hands, or scrape off its ornaments at a stroke. Surface decorations there may be in profusion, but they are based upon a firm foundation and integrated with it, to form an unyielding and immovable structure."

171 *Primitive Negro Sculpture, p. 37.*

e *Kingsley says of the West African:* "He cuts from a tree a moderately thick branch which he carves into a rude resemblance of the human figure; usually these figures are simply cylindrical pieces of wood, from ten to fourteen inches in length and from three to four in diameter. Two or three inches from one end, which may be called the top, the stick is notched so as to roughly resemble a neck, and the top is then rounded to bear some rough distant resemblance to a head."

Travels in West Africa, p. 510.

f *Leonard says of the Ibo and other tribes:* "It is quite impossible to understand the spiritual conception and the god-idea of these natives unless we possess a knowledge of that peculiarly personal system of society out of which it has evolved and developed; and we recognise that the gods are but the shadows or spirits, so called, of mortals. They are rude but perfect pictures of the very worshippers in whose own human image they have been either kneaded out of clay or carved out of wood."

The Lower Niger and Its Tribes, p. 433.

g "Not so the barbarian, however. With him the Ju-Ju or emblem is no child's play, no mere outlet for a state of activity which he is not particularly desirous of, not even a safety-valve by which the accumulated steam of his pent-up emotions might escape, but a matter of life and death, connecting, as it does, one to the other, *i.e.* himself and household to the household in the spirit. To natural man this

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others (like it). That is how many (European) hoes came among the Ashanti. Formerly it was only Kotoko, the Porcupine, who had one."
Akan-Ashanti Folk-Tales, p. 43.

40. *Hog, sacrifice of*

a *Beckwith says of Jamaica:* "When they come to the Grave, which is generally made in some Savannah or Plain, they lay down the Coffin, or whatever the Body happens to be wrapt up in; and if he be one whose Circumstances could allow it (or if he be generally liked, the Negroes contribute among themselves) they sacrifice a Hog."
Dark Roadways, p. 79.

41. *Images*

a *Cruickshank says of the Gold Coast of Africa:* "They also mould images from clay, and bake them. We have seen curious groups of these in some parts of the country. Upon the death of a great man, they make representations of him, sitting in state, with his wives and attendants seated around him."
Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa, p. 270.

b *Ellis says of the Ewe:* "The head is sometimes of wood, rising like a cone; the mouth extends from ear to ear, and is garnished with the teeth of dogs, or with cowries to represent teeth; the eyes are also represented by cowries. The arms of the figure are invariably immensely long, while the legs are short and the feet large."
The Ewe-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa, p. 42.

c *Guillaume and Munro say:* "He is especially fond of giving a flashing regard to the eyes by inserting beads, shells, stones or bits of metal."
Primitive Negro Sculpture, p. 29.

d "Constructed like a building of solid blocks, a typical negro statue is itself a solid, a full, substantial block, set with convincing, massive reality in its own space. Its effect

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•17 49. *Sewing on clothes*

a *Puckett says of West Africa:* "In West Africa one dare not sew his cloth while it is on his body lest his relative die."
Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro, p. 405.

50. *Serpents*

a *Beckwith says of Jamaica:* "The snake is the 'baddest of all,' anyone will affirm, but as there are seldom to be found snakes in Jamaica today this takes one back in the history of obeah to the days of ob, to the voodoo, and the Obeah Man of the past who carried 'A staff carved with snakes or with a human head on the handle, a cabalistic book and a stuffed snake.' "
Black Roadways, p. 122.

b *Leonard says of Southern Nigeria:* "Reptiles, snakes, and crocodiles particularly are much more utilised as emblems, simply, it is to be presumed, because they are more in evidence in the forests and rivers of the Delta than any other species of animals, consequently must have appealed to the natives as the most convenient and suitable repositories for the ancestral manes."
The Lower Niger and Its Tribes, p. 317.

c *Melville and Frances Herskovits say of Dahomey:* "The next personal spirit or force we are to describe is one less esteemed than feared. It is called Dą, which signifies 'serpent.' What is the power of Dą? All serpents are Dą but not all serpents are worshipped. Quintessentially, Dą represents the principle of mobility, of sinuosity. 'All things which curve, and move, but have no feet, are Dą.' "
An Outline of Dahomean Religious Beliefs, p. 56.

d *Melville and Frances Herskovits say of the Paramaribo Negro:* "The most prevalent types of *winti* among women in particular are those associated with the snake, and since these enter into all the categories of *winti*, we list them after the gods of the Sky and Earth. Of these we have *Dagowe, Papa, Vɔdų, Hɑ̃-grɣ, Aboma, Aninine, Alado, Sinero, Korowena, Kwenda, Tobochina,* and *Cheno.* The term *Dagowe*

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•17 often serves, in the town, as a generic term for all the snake spirits, though the *Dagowe*, snake, properly speaking, is one of the constrictor group found in the colony, and is believed by the natives to inhabit both land and water. This is, of course, good observation on their part, for this characteristic of all snakes of the boa type is well-known. Not all snakes are sacred, yet no one will kill a snake."
Surinam Folk-Lore, pp. 63–64.

c *Talbot says of the Ibibio tribes:* "Each great Ibibio Juju man is supposed to keep one such serpent familiar in his house, in the 'bush' where secret rites are celebrated, or in some place by the waterside. It is called Kukubarakpa, and, by virtue of this agent, much of the magician's power is said to come to him. The possession of a snake is also supposed to bring riches, though its magic is thought to be of no avail during the season of storms."
Life in Southern Nigeria, p. 17.

171 51. *Serpents, dream of*

a *Leonard says of Southern Nigeria:* "A snake seen in a dream implies a host of enemies seeking to destroy the dreamer's life. Nightmare is caused by the visitation of an evil or it may be antipathetic spirit."
The Lower Niger and Its Tribes, p. 147.

52. *Sneezing*

a *Puckett says of the Ewe:* "Sneezing is regarded as a bad omen by the Ewe tribes of Africa because it indicates that the indwelling spirit is about to quit the body, affording an opportunity for a homeless spirit to enter in and cause illness. A similar belief leads the Calabar natives to exclaim, 'Far from you!' when a person sneezes, with an appropriate gesture as if throwing off some evil."
Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro, p. 453.

53. *Spider stories*

Melville and Frances Herskovits say of the Suriname Negro: "Though few tales have been recorded, these play an impor-

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171 c *Ellis says of the Ewe:* "The usual reverence is paid by the members of a clan to the animal or plant from which the clan takes its name. It may not be used as food, or molested in any way; but must always be treated with veneration and respect. The general notion is that the members of the clan are directly descended from the animal, or plant, eponymous."
The Ewe-Speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa, p. 100.

d *Ellis says of the Tshi:* "With some races the reverence originally felt for the deceased ancestor, and in later times transferred to the animal for which he was named, culminates in the animal being regarded as a tutelary deity, and consequently a being to be worshipped and propitiated by sacrifice; but in other cases—and this is almost always the case with the family divisions of the natives of the Gold Coast—an abstention from the use of the flesh of the animal whose name the family bears, is sometimes the only remaining sign of any feeling of reverence or respect."
The Tshi-Speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast of West Africa, p. 206.

e *Melville and Frances Herskovits say of the Surinam Negro:* "An illness may be caused by . . . an unconscious violation, arising out of the fact that a man's mother had never told him the name of his true father, and consequently he had been observing food taboos which were not his own and had been neglecting to observe those which were his, since, as we have seen, these personal food taboos are inherited from the father."
Suriname Folk-Lore, pp. 59–60.

• 17 66. *Teeth, children born with*

a *Meek says of Nigeria:* "Children born feet first or with teeth or any deformity were also destroyed, on the ground that they were incarnations of evil spirits."
Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe, pp. 290–91.

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b *Thomas says of the Ibo of Nigeria:* "Not only twins, but many other children are, or were, exposed because of some circumstance connected with their birth or development. For example, a child born with teeth is regarded as a monster who will bring misfortune on its father—perhaps the belief may be that it will devour him. . . ."
Anthropological Report on the Ibo-Speaking Peoples of Nigeria, I, *pp. 10–11.*

67. *Twins*

a *Melville and Frances Herskovits say of the Suriname Negro:* "Twins, and the child born after twins, who is called *Dosu*, and children born feet foremost, are in a category by themselves, and they are often spoken of as *ogri*, . . . bad."
Suriname Folk-Lore, p. 42.

b *Meek says of Nigeria:* "And twins were allowed to die or were deliberately killed by being enclosed in a pot or ant-hill. For the Ibo hold the common belief that the birth of twins is an indication of the disfavour of the spirits, and a punishment, possibly of adultery. Twin-births are regarded as non-human, and it is a common belief that the *chi* or accompanying soul of a twin is the *chi* of an animal. After the birth of twins a diviner is consulted to ascertain which spirit or ancestor had been offended, and sacrifice is offered to appease his wrath."
Law and Authority in a Nigerian Tribe, p. 291.

c *Nassau says of Africa:* "All over Africa the birth of twins is a notable event, but noted for very different reasons in different parts of the country. In Calabar they are dreaded as an evil omen, and until recently were immediately put to death, and the mother driven from the village to live alone in the forest as a punishment for having brought this evil on her people.

"In other parts, as in the Gabun country, where they are welcomed, it is nevertheless considered necessary to have special ceremonies performed for the safety of their lives, or, if they die, to prevent further evil."
Fetichism in West Africa, p. 206.

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Moslem Jihad and Ethnic Displacement

●17 European demand for slaves exacerbated a process of ethnic displacement already occurring in Upper Guinea. The mountains of the Futa Djalon were a transitional point between Islamic Western Sudan and the Upper Guinea Coast. The Futa Djalon massif was an irregular triangle, the base of which began at the Upper Gambia River with the apex extending just north of present-day Sierra Leone. Mountainous country extended south of the Futa Djalon so that a continuous range provided a watershed from which a number of Upper Guinea rivers flowed, including the Senegal and the Niger. Previous to European coastal contact, migration, population displacement, and assimilation, mostly the result of efforts to spread Islam, affected geographical ethnic groupings and patterns. Moslem Fula, Susu, and Mandingas occupied the Futa Djalon with some non-Moslem ethnic groups, while other Sudanic groups continued west, settling beside peoples already inhabiting the coast. By the time of Portuguese contact, non-Moslem coastal peoples were virtually surrounded as well as somewhat infiltrated by a large semicircle of Moslem traders with a number of hinterland groups sandwiched in between (in the rain-forest regions).[21]

In Senegambia Mandingas were the most powerful if not most numerous ethnic group and the first to meet Portuguese seamen in the fifteenth century. Hence they began the barter in slaves, gold, and ivory in exchange for European goods. So-called pagans were the first victims of the trade. By the time of British presence in the Gambia region, victims included littoral groups such as Wolofs and to a far greater extent, Djolas. Other smaller, inland non-Moslem ethnic peoples such as the Patcharis in the Middle Gambia Valley, Baasaris in the Upper Valley, and Bambaras were also mentioned in chronicles as contributing to slave coffles. In the seventeenth century the Wolof kingdom was located between the Senegal River south to the Gambia River and extended inland. By the eighteenth century some Wolof leadership accepted Islam while the common people continued their traditional beliefs. Djolas were independent longtime residents of the coastal areas between the Gambia and Cassamance Rivers and their communities spread a distance of one hundred miles inland. Even at the leadership level Djolas physically resisted Mandinga dominance and Islamic religion. They were also among the few groups who refused to be predatory participants in the Atlantic slave

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•17 trade. Djolas' simple manners and customs, loose tribal organization, and decentralized government made them easy prey for the European-backed, domineering, highly politically structured Moslem Mandingas. Thousands of Djolas filled the holds of British slave ships. Fulani inhabitants of the Gambia were, like Mandingas, followers of the Koran and by the sixteenth century were vassals of the latter. They planted crops, tended Mandinga cattle, leased their territory, and occasionally joined Mandinga merchants in wars against ethnic groups to procure slaves. Mandinga-Fulani interdependency probably goes farther than common religious ties to explain why large numbers of Fulani were not sold into slavery as compared with Djolas and Wolofs. Another large ethnic group of the Senegambia was the Seraculeh. They were actually a northern branch of Mandingas who engaged in slaving in the Upper River Division of the Gambia Valley.[22]

175 Besides obeying the Koran's edict to make war on "non-believers," black Muslim traders followed a custom of general acquisitiveness stimulated by European labor demands. Moslem Africans were enslaved for petty as well as major crimes and offenses. Walter Rodney has maintained that prior to the Atlantic trade most crimes were punishable by fines and few groups practiced capital punishment. The slave trade heightened rivalries and intensified a pattern of class exploitation.[23] This insight is supported by Francis Moore, a contemporary observer who remained on the Gambia River from 1730 to 1735. Moore noted that some Mandinga merchants journeyed inland and might not return with slaves for twenty days. But in referring to the littoral trade he observed:

> Besides the slaves which merchants bring down, there are many bought along the river. These are either taken in war, as the former are, or else men condemned for crimes, or else stolen, which is very frequent. . . . Since this slave trade has been us'd all punishments are changed into slavery; there being an Advantage on such condemnations, they strain for crimes very hard . . . every trifling crime is punished in the same manner.[24]

Rulers and elites perpetrated the trade against the general population, often whether Islam was professed or not. Occasionally mistakes were made and a noble would be enslaved, as in the case of Job ben Solomon. He was a wealthy Fula of the Gambia region who crossed the river with a coffle of slaves that he intended to sell for his father. Ben Solomon was caught by Mandinga merchants and sold to a Captain Pike of the ship *Arabella*, the same person with whom ben Solomon had bartered for his

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indicating existence in the other world and eventual rebirth. Life was a continuum and the sign of the four moments of the sun symbolized "spiritual continuity and renaissance" via its spiral journey. The crossing of the four solar moments, spacially like a Greek cross and similar to the Christian cross, was not introduced to the BaKongo by early Christianity. Long before the arrival of Europeans, this geometric statement, the Kongo Cruciform, adorned funerary objects and in other ways reflected BaKongo aesthetic perceptions of their relationship to the world. Robert Farris Thompson and Joseph Cornet have brilliantly demonstrated this through BaKongo visual traditions in Africa and the New World.[14]

Belief that one's spirit consciously existed after death was also common. "New" Africans, once they learned English, found reinforcement in Christian principles taught by white ministers, that everyone possessed a soul, apart from one's human form, with its own destiny. In certain ways African concepts were more complicated. Mende believed that each mortal had a *personality-soul*, or spirit existence, where the "vital force of the individual resided." This *personality-soul* left the flesh at death and took on full spiritual form. One who was a good person in earthly life continued as a good *personality-soul*. Those who led an evil life likewise became demonic as well as immune to antiwitch medicines. Golas and other neighboring groups referred to the soul as the "heart" which also stood for the mind. One's actions were directed by the "voice of his heart" which persuaded and guided individual behavior. Each living being possessed two hearts—one good and one bad—each trying to influence the other. Death destroyed the body but did not affect the soul, or "heart." The dead would awake, arise, and join their departed relations and friends at a common place of abode. A further example of immortality is provided by Akan tradition. Akan peoples believed that each person's guiding spirit, the *okra*, departed at death, indicating completion of earthly destiny. The *okra* returned to God to justify its existence on earth, but was also capable of appearing again in spirit form among the world of the living. The *okra* was considered the real self—in a sense, one's conscience—and was thus responsible for human behavior whether good or evil.[15]

Bantu peoples probably had the most elaborate and complex system of afterlife beliefs which were central to their religious traditions. Humans were double beings, consisting of an outer and inner entity. Each entity in turn had two parts. One part of the outer being, the shell, was

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17 visible. At death it was buried and rotted. The second part was invisible and could be "eaten" by bad medicine, *kindoki*, but helped by good medicine, *minkisi*. The inner being's two parts were both necessary for continued existence. One signified personal life and although expressions differed among groups, there was commonality in meaning. Some Bantu peoples expressed the personal entity as *kivuumunu* (breathing). Other expressions were *mvela* (breath), *kiini* (shadow), *moyoo* (life), *mpeve* (spirit, wind) and *nsala* (soul or principle of life). *Kivuumunu* was the agent of life and breath, hidden and protected from black medicine. Death could not destroy it. The second part of the inner being, the *belly*, was different. It took food which had to be provided for the entity to continue living. Both contributed to continued existence, one through breath and the other through nourishments. In the world of *mpemba* (land of all things white), the dead, via powers commensurate with the goodness of their previous earthly life, were expunged of earthly acquired impurities and reentered the world as reincarnated spirits (in grandchildren) or as immortal *simbi* spirits.[16] Notions of the afterlife practiced by BaKongo peoples and their neighbors and reinforced by similar beliefs among other Africans parallel some Gullah "Christian" ritualistic customs of death and burial, as discussed in a subsequent chapter.

Spirits of the deceased ancestors constituted the largest group of religious intermediaries in African cosmology. They were bilingual in a sense, speaking the language of humans and that of the spirits and God. Still they remained a part of the human family, returning to share meals occasionally and appearing to certain elder members of the household. The living dead knew the needs and desires of their clan members and had access to channels of communication with God. The spiritual status and availability of the living dead facilitated their being approached more than God for concerns of life and for protection. The importance which departed members of the family occupied in African spirituality has been termed "ancestor worship." But modern African writers have denounced this phrase, first introduced by Herbert Spencer. These scholars insist that communion with deceased members of the family (via prayers, honorific offerings, interpretation of dreams and unusual events) was not "worship" but symbolic fellowship, respect, and veneration.[17]

Ancestor reverence was basic to Bantu belief systems perhaps because of the significance of lineage and kinship to societal structure and gover-

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nance.[18] The absence of mandatory secret societies as a means of maintaining corporate linkage and community loyalty points up the significance of kinship and lineage in a monarchial system such as that practiced by peoples of the Kongo region. Clan loyalty was paramount. If *Nzambi* ruled, reproved, and in the final analysis ordered the world according to divine design, ancestors superintended, rewarded, and welcomed the dead into their subterranean village. Ritually, BaKongo spiritual behavior was concatenated to ancestor devotion, not to *Nzambi*, though the spirit world consisted of forces unleashed by *Nzambi*. Among the most powerful of these were deceased elders of the clan, called *bakulu*—white spirits who roamed the earth (in woods, streams, and villages) and resided in the subterranean "world of no evil." Vital to ancestor reverence was the belief that discarnate human spirits maintain interest in their people after passing to the unseen society where they guard traditions and activities of the living. If family herds were squandered, ancestors took note and punished. If drought threatened the family herds, old chiefs in the spirit world might take pity and send rain. The power of ancestral spirits was commonly recognized.[19]

Belief in ancestoral spirits, in life after death, and in the significance of that future life gave funeral and burial rites a central place in African existence. Sick-bed attendance and a fitting send-off were essential observations of this rite of passage. Death halted routine activities when marriage or other rites did not. Failure to properly observe the death ritual could either implicate one in that death, or bring ill will to the erring clan member. The curse of the dying was much dreaded. In the American South, as noted by Herskovits, Bastide, Thompson, and others, black cemeteries represent a special historical relic. For here one finds the clearest, strongest visible examples of memories of African-inspired customs. African reverence for departed members of the family and group remained a factor in Gullah religious life even after they accepted Christianity. Gullah regard for deceased family members could not have equalled the homage paid to these spirits by Old World or "New" Africans. Still, spirits of the dead had to be reckoned with, and slaves believed they took the form of either good or evil supernatural forces. Vengeful spirits of the dead were those wronged during their lifetime, or "on easy" spirits perhaps indicating bewitchment, or they were the ancestors of outside families or groups. Hence in keeping with

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In 1734, as a direct attack on SPG activity among the slaves, the planter-controlled South Carolina Assembly passed a law prohibiting slaves from leaving plantations on "Sundays, fast days, and holy days" without a ticket. Since few bondspeople were given passes to attend worship, and clergymen were not normally allowed in slave cabins, the law was a serious setback for the already languishing missionary movement. Peter Wood has discussed "mounting anxiety and patterns of control" on the part of whites in the 1730s, as the black, foreign-born slave population around Charleston expanded dramatically through importations. This apprehension was increased as planters also associated religious instruction with rebelliousness. An insurrection plot uncovered in Antigua in 1736 fed Carolina planters' fears and their belief in the ill effects of the Society's endeavors. The conspiracy was widespread and accounts stated that many of the leaders were literate, having been taught by Anglican clergy.[20]

But it was the Stono Rebellion of 1739 and two subsequent abortive uprisings that brought home the issue for white Carolinians. The Stono uprising began in St. Paul's Parish, twenty miles from Charleston. It gained momentum as the rebels headed farther south for Spanish St. Augustine, gathering recruits as they went. White Carolinians were especially enraged by the fact that notices posted by Spaniards offering freedom to runaways could be read by slaves who had received instruction from Society missionaries. The New Negro Act passed in 1740 curtailed the Society's freedom to teach slaves to read and write English. It was the biggest setback for the Society's program thus far.[21]

Still the Society persisted in more settled regions, though not with unified enthusiasm. While most legislation following the Stono Rebellion was repressive, it was also intended to reduce the incentive for revolt. In 1740 Alexander Garden, South Carolina Commissary for the Bishop of London, made a proposal. He suggested placing young, Carolina-born slave boys, ten or twelve years of age, under full Society tutelage for two years. Once trained, these youths would return to the plantations as religious school masters, adequately prepared to instruct slave children and adults in the neighborhood. Garden insisted that the most effective method was to have a teacher come from the slaves' own numbers. "As among us religious instruction usually descends from parents to children, so among them it must at first ascend from children, or from young to old." Garden confidently asserted that in twenty years, "knowledge of

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• 17 the gospel among the slaves . . . in general (excepting those newly imported) would not be much inferior to that of the lower sort of White People, servants and Day Labourers . . . either in England or elsewhere."[22]

In 1743 the "Charleston Negro School," was opened by Commissary Garden where a few slave children were taught catechism and elementary education. The school functioned after Garden's design, and the Society convinced the colonial government to support it. Society missionaries had always maintained that the key to obedient servitude was promulgated on the "principle of conscience" generated by instruction in Christian doctrine. They argued that while slaves continued in "darkness," planters could "expect at best an eye service from them and such obedience as proceeds through fear." Garden also had insight into the power and appeal of a *black-to-black* effort in Christian instruction and the pliability of young minds.

The school operated for about twenty years, but was finally closed when no suitable teacher was found upon the death of the old one. It did not have a lasting impact on the black population of Charleston. But the school is part of the religious revitalization movement called the Great Awakening and is discussed in the next chapter. Furthermore, establishment of the Negro School perhaps represents the SPG's most significant though unsuccessful effort to bring Christianity to the slaves.[23]

Baptists and Other "Dissenters"

The Fundamental Constitution of Carolina identified the colony with principles of religious toleration, although the proprietors quickly added a clause proclaiming the Church of England as the "National Religion," and empowering the governing body with a right to levy taxes to support it. Still, early Carolina offered more religious freedom than England or any other American colony except Rhode Island. One of the Carolina proprietors, John Archdale, was a Quaker and served as governor of the colony between 1694 and 1696. Although the Society of Friends was never a large denomination in South Carolina, Quakers were an important part of over 2,000 Dissenters by 1700, out of a white population of about 4,200 people. George Fox, founder of the Society of Friends, never reached South Carolina when he journeyed to America, but did travel to North Carolina in 1672. Although not against slavery, Fox encour-

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aged benevolence toward slaves and encouraged Quakers to instruct their slaves in Christianity. Yet most Quakers followed a policy of excluding blacks from meetings even though they may have provided religious instruction.[24] 170

Presbyterians and Baptists immigrated to South Carolina in the 1680s, settling in Charleston and nearby areas. Encouraged by the promotional campaign which the colony's proprietors initiated, two wealthy groups of English and Scottish Presbyterians settled in Carolina. The first Presbyterian church, the Circular Church, was organized in Charleston by 1690. Like early Baptists who settled in Carolina, Presbyterians were Calvinists who practiced the doctrine of election and restricted church membership. Hence, they did not actively engage in programs of slave conversion.[25] Yet despite their Calvinism, early Baptists had divergent view about doctrine which separated them from other independent denominations and which later led to adoption of evangelism that included their slave population. 175

The name "Baptists" or "Anabaptists," given to the adherents of this particular denomination, has deceptive connotations. It was not a self-chosen name but one attached to the denomination by enemies during the Reformation. Baptists asserted that infant "sprinkling" was not warranted in the scriptures, and was thus contrary to the principle of voluntary action in religion, hence inviting corruption. These Christians made baptism on a profession of faith a condition of church fellowship. This, along with their denial of the validity of infant baptism and adherence to total immersion, did more than anything else to place Baptists at variance with other denominations. Yet rejection of infant baptism did not occupy as prominent a position in Baptist belief as opponents gave it. Baptists' most uncompromising religious position was their belief in the absolute authority and sufficiency of scripture and a regenerate church membership (principles which all evangelical sects ultimately embraced). This meant applying scripture to details of doctrine, practice, and daily life. Those Baptists who owed their origin to English Puritanism, and who rejected the medieval evangelism in the Augustinian tradition, strongly believed in Calvinism, especially predestination. (They were called Particular Baptists.) Puritan-oriented Baptists, led by William Screven, moved from Maine in 1683 and settled in Charleston at the same time that another group of similar persuasion arrived from England. By 1699 the two groups had emerged and formed one church. Quarrels and infighting over lead-

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labor shortage. Obviously, religious enthusiasm did not interfere with a proslavery attitude. As a substantial Carolina planter, Jonathan hoped to continue increasing his holdings. But the price of land was high and for Jonathan "avenues of mobility in the Carolina social order were clogged." Thus when Georgia legalized slavery in 1751, Jonathan Bryan settled there that same year.[34]

Georgia's founding was closely tied to creating a place for the unfortunate. This, along with the religiosity expressed by the Trustees, Bray Associates, and others involved (like the Wesleys and Whitefield) in the colony, may explain the first slave code. Once slavery was established, a clause supporting religious instruction of slaves was part of the code. Masters were required to address their slaves' spiritual welfare. Slave labor on Sundays was forbidden, and owners were obliged to see that slaves be gathered "at some time on the Lord's Day for Instruction in the Christian Religion." Thus the slave code emphasized the master's Christian duty toward bondspeople. It was a policy most owners ignored on the one hand, and within five years the code was rewritten along the South Carolina model (not surprisingly, since many Carolinians and West Indians settled there), and the religious instruction provision was deleted. On the other hand, this early legal support for Christian instruction, supported by Bryan and others, probably contributed to a more liberal attitude regarding this issue in Georgia. This is most evident in events which led to the establishment of the African Baptist Church at Savannah, which was formed under the leadership and pastorship of Jonathan Bryan's slave Andrew. In South Carolina, a black man named David George probably set up the first black Baptist organization in the South, at Silver Bluff near the Savannah River, between 1773 and 1775. Yet following the disruption caused by the War for Independence and George's removal to Nova Scotia, the Silver Bluff Church found a more hospitable environment in Georgia, becoming the First African Baptist Church at Augusta (just twelve miles away).[35]

Thus by the time of the War for Independence, there were several black preachers in the Lowcountry. Their movements were proscribed, they were frequently persecuted, and their contact with slave masses was negligable. Often they preached to whites or to mixed audiences. Still, they represent the beginnings of an emerging African-Christianity. Most of them either came under the influence of George Whitefield's preaching or were converted to Christianity by those preaching a message sim-

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•17 ilar to that of the enthusiastic evangelist.[36] Hence it was primarily a small acculturated group of blacks who took in the Great Awakening, while the countryside swelled with new Africans. Within this sociocultural tug-of-war, Africans and American slaves formed their communal outlook and clung to those features of life which provided a sense of identity, personhood, and autonomy.

Old Ways Die Slowly

The steady stream of Africans pouring into the Carolina Lowcountry, and the lack of a meaningful imparting of the Christian religion could not help but reinforce an African cultural and spiritual presence. In the country and island parishes especially, whites lived among a foreign-born servile labor force. Ministers were not only exasperated by the resistance of planters to having their slaves converted, but even more frustrated by the problem of communicating with Africans. First was the challenge of language. "Those brought up among us," wrote one early Society missionary, "are both civilized and speak good English . . . whereas those that are brought hither from their own country, except a few that come very young, seldom or never speak good English."[37]

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197 African slaves lived, worked, and socialized among each other. Their lack of exposure to English and concentration on developing a mode of communication among themselves undoubtedly slowed the process of learning a totally foreign tongue. Gullah language was being created during the colonial decades and the lengthy period of African slave trading. This was also happening elsewhere, such as in the Savannah region, where Africans imported mainly through Charleston were laboring in the country and island reaches of Georgia. As long as Africans remained isolated and their numbers greatly reinforced, language was a problem. Bray Associate missionary Joseph Ottolenghe (an Italian Jew converted to Christianity), provides some insight into the problems and difficulties encountered in the seacoast region. In a letter to the Associates, he reminded them of the impediments faced by "primitive Christians" in olden times, but added that they faced no "Hindrancies, & great Diffioulties" which compared to the instruction of African slaves:

> The formers understood ye language of ye instructos, & if not persons were appointed skill'd in ye language of ye novices; whereas our Negroes are so ignorant of ye English Language, and none can be found to talk in their own, yt

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it is a great while before you can get them to understand what ye meaning of words is & yt without such knowledge instruction's would prove vain & ye ends p[o]posed abortive, for how can a proposition be believed, without first being understood? & how can it be understood if ye person whom it is offered has no idea even of ye sound of those words which expresses ye proposition?"

Ottolenghe, himself a slaveholder, cited as an example a young couple he had purchased four years previously. According to the missionary, he had instructed the pair diligently and forbade their association with any slaves except those at his "Negro school." Despite his "pains in their education," they were in his words, "in point of learning very slow and difficient." He could never send them on an errand successfully unless his wishes were put in writing."

The creation of a medium of communication within the black community undoubtedly engaged older as well as newer inhabitants. As a result, elements of several ethnic language families seem evident. Additionally, similarities of Gullah to Jamaican dialect and the dialect spoken by Bush African-Americans in Suriname imply a certain commonality in black pidgin languages formed by isolated societies from similar African roots. No one can say for sure when Gullah began to crystallize into a common method of communication among the majority of slaves. Nor can it be denied that influence from non-African sources helped create Gullah. Yet formulation of the dialect itself was a unique communical experience. Shaping a language reinforced social cohesion and community. With the large influx of Africans coming in during the middle period of the slave trade, quite possibly the dialect took permanent root during that time, drawing, of course from groups of blacks already in the region and already adapting to white culture. The following is an example of Gullah-Jamaican dialect, taken down in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, and perhaps one of the earliest efforts to formulate the pidgin into a literal, written form of communication:

BUDDY QUOW	A Key to Buddy Quow
Was matter Buddy Quow?	What is the matter Brother Quow?
I ble Obesha bang you,	I believe the overseer has beaten you,
You tan no sabby how,	You look I don't know how,
Dah Backrow Man go wrong you,	That White Man has wronged you,
Buddy Quow,	Brother Quow,
Dah Backrow &	That White Man &

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Marrant was at first well received at his mother's home. But soon persecutions began anew. The youth was pained because no one in his family cared the slightest for religion, and did not even wish to say grace at mealtime. When his mother also grew impatient with him, the disheartened boy left home and headed into the Georgia wilderness. His trials with the Indians are another story. But his life was spared, for he successfully converted his "executioner," converted the king's daughter and "cured" her of an illness. Marrant remained with the Indians for nearly two years, eventually returning to his family. He served with the British navy during the War for Independence and even saw his old Cherokee benefactor, who marched along with General Clinton in the seige of Charleston. The two friends greeted each other warmly and conversed, but Marrant was shipped out the next day. John Marrant eventually went to England, became a minister, was patronized by another Whitefield convert, the Countess of Huntingdon, and eventually went to Sierra Leone as a colonist.[56]

Marrant represents one type of black convert who came under the suasion of Whitefield's evangelical preaching. He was literate, urbane, free-born and far removed from the rural, isolated experiences of the majority of African-Americans. He was also "awakened" at a young, impressionable age. Marrant's high living and Dionysian activities may have created an unconscious sense of guilt which the magnetic presence of Whitefield brought to the surface. Marrant's belief that Whitefield was looking directly at him as he announced his text was perhaps also a function of the boy's feelings of guilt. But the evangelist reportedly possessed an enrapturing sense of presence, thundering voice, and extemporaneous preaching style that swayed audiences. He also had a manner of looking around the crowd with his intense blue eyes. Add to all of this the fact that one of Whitefield's eyes was permanently misfocused (or crossed actually), and it presents a rather formidable picture. Eyewitnesses stated that instead of a distraction the misfocused "squinting" eye was an attraction.[57] It is possible then, that Whitefield was looking elsewhere when he appeared to have fastened his eyes on young Marrant. But of course, a black youth at the meetinghouse with a French horn, preparing to "blow," was not exactly an inconspicuous sight. The seasoned evangelist had had enough disruptions of sermons to spot troublemakers, and knew how to unnerve them, expecially one so young and vulnerable.

John Marrant apparently did not hear Whitefield's sermon, and after that 1769 encounter they never met again. Yet it was the Methodist's

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message which won over black converts like Marrant. Whitefield was not a theologian in a strict sense—although he did produce a theology of sorts. Indeed he spoke against the clergy's erudite learnedness. Rather than a teacher, he was a preacher, and saw his role in a prophetic sense. He shunned speculative theology and organized religion. His authority was the Bible, at least certain doctrines from it. But he rarely preached from the Bible. His message was simple: all humankind is guilty of sin and must ask forgiveness, immortality comes through regeneration and rebirth through Jesus Christ. Inherent in his sermons, which probably appealed to blacks, was his stress on the mercy and love of Jesus Christ and his emphatic renditions of the benefits of divine grace. His insistence that God "was no respector of persons" found attentive ears. Whitefield's traveling companion, William Seward, noted the numerous occasions in the North when blacks became "greatly affected" by the evangelist's sermons, "especially when our brother invited the poor Negroes to touch Christ by faith, whereby they would gain freedom from the slavery of sin and satan." Whitefield's insistence that "God intends salvation for Negroes" probably struck a responsive chord for some accultured blacks, both slave and free.[58] His message was one of offering blacks incorporation into the Christian spiritual family, of providing them with a spiritual identity. For a group defined out of American social institutions and laboring under restrictions of racism, it was a comforting, appealing overture.

The directness of Whitefield's vision of rebirth and his invitation for blacks to expunge the "devil" from within was one manner of appeal. He often began his sermons with a rendition of his own conversion. Additionally, his sense of caring, his abortive efforts to begin a "Negro school" in the North, and his attack on the treatment of slaves also indicated that the evangelist was at least an ally. While cultural and spiritual differences prevented others from addressing blacks, Whitefield's people's religion emphasized commonality. His capacity to simplify "divine truth" and present biblical narratives and the Gospel message in clear, vivid fashions gained him a black audience. The following excerpt summarizes his message and method when addressing black people. In this case it is the slaves of the Jonathan Bryan household:

> Welcome to Christ's fold . . . This is a mystery . . . for unsearchable grace . . . would Jesus Christ take you . . . even you dispised Negroes and join you in one fold with is people? Oh what manner of grace is this? Would he lift you . . . from the dust, you beggars from the Dunghill, from the depths of vile

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freedom is demonstrated in a letter written by Stephen Bull to Henry Laurens in March, 1776. "It is better," he wrote, "for the public and the owners, if . . . deserted Negroes . . . be shot, if they cannot be taken." This measure would, Bull hoped, "deter other Negroes from deserting." Such was not the case. In the Southern region, prospects of liberty took on new meaning for some Lowcountry slaves. British occupation of coastal Georgia began in December 1778 after an aged slave guided the British in a surprise attack, and continued until July 1782. Charleston was literally battered into submission in May 1780. The British kept lists of blacks given certificates of freedom signed by General Samuel Birch, British commander of New York, and allowed to leave America in 1783. These inspection rolls are useful evidences of social history. They contain names of blacks, ages, a brief description, former owners, and length of time away from owners. While the majority of the South Carolina slaves on these lists are from Charleston, most of whom left during the seige, there are also listings of slaves from the region south of that city:

Brass Watson (30), scar on forehead, slave of John Day, Charleston.
Nancy (his wife) (30), 2 small children, slaves of Mr. Quince, Wilmington, N. C., left 7 years ago.
MaryAnn (23), very small, formerly owned by Thomas Cooper, Santee, left at seige of Charleston.
Mellia Marrant (30), squat wench, property of John Marrant, near Santee, left at seige of Charleston.
Amelia (6), child of above.
Ben (4), child of above.
Michael Thomas (18), of Richard Garret, Beaufort, S. C., left 7 years ago.
James Brown (21), belonging to William Williamson, Black Swamp, left 4 years ago.
Sally Beauman (25), fine wench, of Thomas Beauman of Beaufort, left 4 years ago.
Lampson Miles (12), fine boy of John Miles, Indian Lands, left 5 years ago.
Sam Hutchins (26), property of Wm. Harden, Indian Lands.
Sara Jones (33), stout wench of Richard Stevens, Port Royal, S. C.[12]

So reads the "Book of Negroes," as the British army approved passage from America for those slaves with their certificates of freedom signed by General Birch. The lists indicate that a number of the "elderly" and "worn out" former bondspeople had nevertheless somehow gotten to New York in anticipation of freedom. Black women figure prominently in the lists, some of whom had been behind British lines, or away from own-

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ers, for a number of years. Many either brought their children with them or formed partnerships after flights, giving birth to children behind British lines, that is, born free. The existence of this "Book of Negroes," with large numbers of South Carolina slaves on the lists, refutes claims that the War for Independence little affected the black population in the Lowcountry. Also, the lists demonstrate bondspeople's sense of autonomy in familial matters, and what E. P. Thompson, in another context, characterizes as representing "symbolic authority." Many did not give the surname of their masters as their own, making their detachments from previous status as complete as possible.[13] Furthermore, we find few African names on the inspection lists. Except for an occasional Cudjo or Mingo, most slaves have English names. Perhaps this represents a demarcation line between those slaves who decided to cast their lot with the British and less assimilated, African-born slaves, who remained in the swamps and woods of coastal Carolina and Georgia, becoming part of the groups that plagued the region after the War for Independence.

Among those who took refuge with the British in New York was Boston King. Although King was the son of favored slaves on the Waring plantations in the Sea Island region, this was not a mitigating factor in his bondage. He was apprenticed to a carpenter at sixteen who was a cruel man, and King "suffered many hardships." On one occasion he was falsely accused of stealing nails. "For this offense," wrote King, "I was beat and tortured most cruelly, and was laid up three weeks before I was able to do any work." King's owner's objections and his threats to break the apprentice agreement led to fairer treatment for a time. But another incident occurred for which the young man anticipated "severest punishment." It was 1780, and the war between Britain and the colonies provided the safety valve King needed. Though "much grieved at first," to reside among strangers, King nevertheless "determined to go to Charles-Town and throw myself into the hands of the English," who received him "readily."[14]

For the first time Boston King "began to feel the happiness of liberty." Despite many dangerous exploits that year, as well as a bout with smallpox, King managed to stay in British service and joined the crew of a man-of-war bound for New York in 1781. His adventures and hardships continued, culminating in capture by Americans while serving on a British pilot boat. King was taken to New Brunswick, and though well-treated, he longed for the freedom he had briefly known with the Brit-

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ish. The resourceful young man managed his escape to British-occupied New York, and was one of those who "received a certificate from the commanding officer," General Birch, setting sail for Nova Scotia in 1783.[15]

Boston King and the loyal blacks left New York with great expectations, most of which went unrealized. But that first winter, "the work of religion began to revive" among the black colonists, thankful for their deliverance from bondage. Throughout his war exploits, King had prayed fervently for deliverance. In his many close encounters, King's most earnest supplications were expressed when he was back in bondage in New Brunswick. He thought of nothing but freedom: "I called to remembrance the many great deliverances the Lord had wrought for me and besought him to save me this once and I would serve him all the days of my life." It was a promise not immediately fulfilled, for King was occupied by more practical concerns. Yet the Nova Scotia experiences, the hardships the black colonists endured, and the racism at the hands of white loyalists drew the little black band together and King soon became their spiritual leader. For both Boston King and John Marrant, early exposure to missionary activity, early visionary spiritual experiences, positions of acculturation, together with their unusually eventful lives and deliverances all contributed to lasting commitments to Christianity and subsequent call to the ministry.[16]

To alleviate anxiety over absconding property and fear of uprising, some whites advocated that slaves be armed in the South with a promise of freedom as was occurring in the North. In South Carolina, bondspeople were used in many ways during the war, but they were never armed. David Ramsey, a Philadelphian who moved South after marrying the daughter of Henry Laurens, at first considered slaves "too dastardly" to fight. Defections to the British army notwithstanding, Ramsey believed that "abject submission had destroyed every spark of courage in their breasts." Others disagreed, and thought slaves quite capable as soldiers, as indeed they had proven on previous occasions in South Carolina. General Moultrie, a South Carolina planter, continuously urged from the battlefields that slaves be employed as soldiers by his state, especially since they were already fighting in the British army. John Laurens also argued for use of black troops, but his minority proposal was quickly defeated. But even Ramsey changed his mind as British forces prepared to blockade Charleston. Arming slaves probably would not have saved the city from the long-costly seige, because blacks thought it safer to

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freedom. It came in Charleston. As John Lofton points out, Santo Domingo provided a practical example of a successful black revolt, the age offered a philosophy, while natural inclinations and oppression supplied a rationale.[29] By 1822 ideology and leadership were present. The record shows that legions of slaves in the Lowcountry, hoping to spur a statewide insurrection under the contagion of freedom, prepared to take by force what was rightfully theirs. The rebellion strategy was formulated and formented under the guise of an African-Christian association in Charleston known as the African Methodist Episcopal Church. This strategy and the rebellion's leadership reflected the composition of slave society in coastal South Carolina and the spiritual orientation of the insurrectionists. Indeed, the attempted rebellion embodied militant aspects of two religious traditions. It was closely linked with the Methodist Church but was to be carried out under a mystique of African supernatural forces. Moreover, the relationship with African religious tradition may have been the strongest bond among the insurrectionists in their designs. In the Lowcountry, the real language of egalitarianism came from Christian ideology. This did not always translate into support for emancipation, although some whites, for a time, broached the issue. More significantly, the liberal trend led to black exposure to Christianity on a level not previously experienced. Although some slaves may have accepted Christianity just as it flowed out of the white man's mouth, many did not. This latter group used the Christian religion to help provide the genius of their liberation struggle.

Slave Religion in the Postwar Lowcountry

In the Lowcountry, early black exposure to Christianity was largely the work of those previously influenced by George Whitefield, and of postwar Methodists. Although a member of the Anglican clergy, Whitefield, as previously discussed, was not popular with the established church in South Carolina. His staunchest followers were within dissenting congregations. The English evangelist was particularly effective among Puritan-Baptists because of his Calvinist stand on scriptural authority, regenerate membership, and justification by faith. The first Lowcountry extension of the Old England Baptists was the establishment of a church at Euhaw in 1746, for the benefit of communicants who moved their habitations south to these Indian lands and to Edisto Island. Other churches were

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organized and preceded by missionaries who set up preaching places in the Beaufort district and in the Savannah River area. The novelty of Baptist views on baptism and church membership were so different from other traditions that they attracted much attention and at first ensured ostracism in the Sea Island region. The Baptist mission at Beaufort was organized into a church in 1800. But upwardly mobile Baptists did not immediately gain respectability from the Episcopalian community. The Reverend Henry Holcomb lived in Beaufort and served the Baptist Church there for a number of years before and after the War for Independence. In a letter he discussed early attitudes toward the Baptists:

> The principal inhabitants of Beaufort though possessed of learning, wealth and talents, were with a few honorable exceptions, strangers to true religion, and strongly prejudiced against the Baptists. The doctrine of regeneration they treated with contempt; and baptism, if we understand the meaning of the word, had never been administered in their vicinity. If ever I felt the ensnaring fear of men, it was then, but . . . God and truth were on my side. . . . Several "fellows of the better sort" made attempts to turn ministerial exercises into ridicule . . . stealing my Bible . . . while I was administering the Lord's Supper.[39]

Yet Sea Island Baptists overcame initial prejudice, and Episcopalians (postwar Anglicans) grew accustomed to witnessing baptizings in the Beaufort River. Contrary to Episcopalian apprehensions, baptismal rites were administered with the greatest solemnity, and even Baptist church services contained none of the evangelical enthusiasm that characterized Methodists at that time. Leading citizens eventually converted to the Baptist faith. Episcopalian acceptance was probably influenced by Baptist economic success. Before the War for Independence, Baptists were already on the list of Sea Island "aristocracy", rivaling Episcopalians in wealth consisting of land and slaves. This occasioned intermarriage between the once rivaling denominations. One of the most illustrious Baptist ministers of South Carolina, Richard Fuller of Beaufort, came from an Episcopalian lineage which included colonial Indian fighters, legislators, and signers of the Declaration of Independence. The Fuller family owned several Sea Islands and hundreds of slaves. The Lawton-Robert family, Baptist converts from the Huguenot sect, migrated to South Carolina from France. They organized the little Black Swamp Church upon acquiring properties at Robertville (between Beaufort and Savannah). Robertville became one of the wealthiest areas in South Carolina and the Lawton-Roberts were among the most prominent families in the Low-

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country. Other affluent Baptist-Episcopalian members of the slavocracy in the Sea Island region included the Bosticks, the Elliotts, the Popes, and the Fripps. Thus the stigma attached to Baptists subsided. By 1812 the once dissenting faith was a respectable form of worship in the Sea Islands. Lowcountry Baptists had always identified with planter interests and with slaveholding. The Reverend Holcomb lived long enough to see "the flower of Beaufort filling their seats at the Lord's table" for communion at the Baptist Church.[31]

When George Whitefield appealed to planters for religious instruction of slaves, Baptist compliance may have been more forthcoming, in some cases, than among other denominations. His remonstrances did not seem to diminish Puritan-Baptist attraction to his preaching. Whitefield, after all, was a slaveholder himself. Thus in isolated pockets of coastal Carolina and Georgia, preaching to blacks did occur and had obvious results around the time of the War for Independence and afterwards.

As previously discussed, the first organized black religious gathering under Christian auspices in the South was at Silver Bluff, South Carolina, between 1773 and 1775. That occurred on the estate of planter and Indian agent George Galphin, through the efforts of a Connecticut Baptist named Wait Palmer. David George, one of Galphin's slaves, was a convert of Palmer's, and was appointed elder over the little band of eight after being instructed in that office. David George was greatly influenced and encouraged by a black Baptist preacher named George Liele (also called George Sharp). Liele, under the guidance of Georgia white Baptists, had become a practicing exhorter. His master, Henry Sharp, a deacon of the Burke County church where Liele was "called," freed his slave, although Liele continued on with the white family. In his capacity as a preacher George Liele ministered to various plantations as well as to whites and blacks in his own church near Savannah. Liele's master, a loyalist, fought with the British and was killed. Liele remained with the British during the Savannah occupation.[32]

When the War for Independence began, slave owners prohibited ministers from visiting the plantations, fearing that information about the war, especially Dunmore's and Clinton's freedom offers, would cause black defection. With ministers no longer visiting, David George, who had experienced a call to preach under the ministrations of Liele, took over the little church, then numbering about forty. When the British overran the seacoast region, American patriots, Galphin among them,

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ican Methodist General Conference at Christmas 1784, negative reaction was so strong that the rules were suspended at a June conference in Baltimore in 1785 on behalf of the entire church. Nevertheless, some emancipationist sentiment continued. In 1795 ministers meeting in Charleston signed an agreement which recognized slavery as "evil" and condemned "patrons of slavery as well as holders of slaves." Chastizing each other for "strengthening the hands of oppression," the signatories agreed that those of them who owned slaves should emancipate them immediately if permitted to do so by law. Where legal strictures prevented manumission, it was decreed that slaves "ought to be compensated for their labor and willed free." They further resolved that those acting otherwise thereby forfeited both their seat in the Conference and their Letter of Ordination. This was the basis of the 1796 "Articles of Agreement Amongst the Preachers" signed by many conference members in both regions. However, no account of the agreement was published in the Minutes, and as the action was binding only on those who signed, it carried little weight. When the second meeting of the whole church occurred in 1796, General Conference's language regarding slaveholding was conciliatory. It affirmed that it was "more than ever" convinced of the "great evil" of slavery, but actually retreated from the previous stand. Rather than deny membership to slaveholders as previously mandated, the new "anti-slavery" stand accepted them into the church after a preacher had spoken to them "freely and faithfully on the subject of slavery."[30]

Thus the Methodist church, though attempting to engage in Christian instruction of the slaves in some areas, took a compromise position on slavery. Many Southern Methodists bought and sold slaves. They were not proscribed for it by the episcopacy, and most were not troubled by conscience. Yet quarrels did develop over slaveholding, even in Charleston. In 1794 William Hammett, in charge of the Charleston Methodist Church, was himself a slaveholder. Yet he was still harassed and accused of negligently giving passes to blacks so they could "traverse the town at any hour of the night," and "turned out of the pulpit" as a consequence. The minister was able to overcome the incident and continued serving local Methodists. Yet he found that opposition came from another quarter as well. Hammett faced criticism and abuse from his own denomination for being a slaveholder. In 1795 the issue created tension and anger although the church majority stood with Hammett. Still some members,

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•17 disgusted with the bickering, united with the Episcopal church. The controversy motivated Hammett to pen his private thoughts on slavery in his journal:

> I cannot think the trade justifiable on general principles, but in a country where the custom has been handed down from generation to generation, and where free people cannot be hired as servants, and servants are necessary, it is as innocent to hold as to hire slaves.[51]

Hammett's further contemplation centered around a position that in the future would provide a major New Testament theme for slave sermons and a rationalization for slavery:

> . . . we see then St. Paul, did not enjoin on Philemon to emancipate Onesimus who was at the time of his conversion a runaway slave, and this appears evident from the original *Doulo* signifying vassalage or slavery, tho' it is sometimes applied to service in general. St. P. sent him back to his Master to remain, or that the Master should receive him for *ever*. . . . If slavery under every circumstance was an evil, or a sin, Paul would have enjoined on Philemon to emancipate but all he recommends is treatment of a lenient kind, to treat him "as a brother," converted and received.[52]

Both the Old and New Testaments spoke to the actual practice of slaveholding. Pauline justification used by Hammett was in keeping with the thrust of the latter and passages from St. Paul were frequently read to slaves. The biblical example fitted conveniently into the schema of submission so much a part of the Christianity taught to plantation slaves in the antebellum period. Hammett's position also represents the dualism which characterized those who supported slavery yet claimed slaves were spiritually equal. Paul enjoined Philemon to treat Onesimus as he would his closest kin, and one does not normally enslave "a brother." Jesus was silent on the subject of slavery, except for using the master-slave relationship in a pedagogical sense. It was the letters of Paul which contain specific instructions on master-slave duties. Proslavery advocates also upheld bondage by noting that God's "chosen people" were slave owners.[53] Early slaveholding Methodists such as Hammett found ample scriptural justification for their practices.

Yet other Methodist ministers preaching in the South took a different position on slavery. An incendiary document written in the form of an appeal to the inhabitants of Charleston was the handiwork of a resident Methodist preacher named John Phillips. Phillips had been Hammett's

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leading accuser in the 1795 quarrel in the Charleston Church over slavery. The "appeal" was written in Charleston in 1796 while Phillips was still in the city. It was published in New York where the author had removed himself from harm's way. Phillips had been arrested and physically abused by Charleston authorities and citizens for public preaching, for teaching Christianity to slaves and free blacks, and for his antislavery views. The pamphlet denounced the "injustices" perpetrated by slaveholders and prophesied their doom. The author of the tract labeled Charleston masters "thieves" and "men stealers" who ranked with the "vilest characters" in scripture, the Sodomites. He attacked Charleston slaveholders for varied reasons, but especially on the slave trade and the lack of religious instruction. Phillips insisted in his preface that he had such "an entire aversion to war, that if the slaves could obtain their liberty by it, I would, *if possible*, dissuade them from it." Yet his unequivocal position came close to predicting violence:

> And you say, you did not bring them to this country, and . . . blame and condemn those who did; but inasmuch as you perpetuate their crime in keeping them in ignorance and in perpetual slavery, . . . fitting out vessels in this port for the slave trade . . . soliciting that the trade may be opened again, prove, that you are men of like evil dispositions with those who first put this villainous and unnatural practice into execution . . . why do you insist on their being kept ignorant that they may be obedient? . . . Is this Republicanism? Is there not some fraud here? . . . If you have divine authority for what you are doing, whom or what do you fear? . . . Why do you introduce club law instead of equity? . . . Is it not more than probably that the very slaves you are now training up in sin and ignorance, and securing as a portion for your children, will be the very instruments of their, if not your destruction? . . . Are not the owners become the servants of servants. . . . Thus the head is become the tail, according to the saying of Moses in Deuteronomy.

The Phillips pamphlet was sent to Charleston, adding more fuel to an already volatile situation. Hostile white citizens were aware of the 1784 General Conference statement, the 1796 "Articles of Agreement," and the manumission activity in the Northeast and Upper South. Thus the association of early Lowcountry Methodism with antislavery attitudes was not without foundation, though such sentiment was not pervasive. Still, proclamations like Phillips' kept whites on the alert for Methodist depredations against "public safety."[34]

In 1802 a mob assembled in Charleston after news reached "leading citizens' that antislavery literature had arrived for the South Carolina

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slaves met in unsupervised assemblies for Methodist class meetings after their withdrawal from white churches. One black leader even stated that the African Church "met for this very purpose," but that in 1820, when a group from the Anson Street Church was "taken up," plans were temporarily shelved. Vesey and his closest associates, two of whom (Ned Bennet and Peter Poyas) were deacons, used weekly class meetings to discuss revolutionary passages in the Old Testament, as a forum for deploring the African-American condition and as a means to convey the political implications of the national debate over slavery. "He read to us from the Bible, how the Children of Israel were delivered out of Egypt from Bondage," confessed Rolla Bennett, one of Vesey's trusted who broke under pressure. Others proclaimed similar statements. The slaves' situation was compared with that of the Israelites. Favorite passages were from the book of Zachariah, especially the fourteenth chapter. Vesey and Poyas interpreted the chapter as predicting the doom of those who had enslaved or fought against God's chosen, and in this instance they substituted their own race for the Israelites. "My man," insisted Peter to one of the recruits, "God has a hand in it. We have been meeting for four years and are not betrayed."[66]

The harsh justice and strict moralistic tone of the Old Testament was also adopted by the slaves. None was to be spared. Vesey "read from the Bible where God commanded, that all should be cut off, both men, women and children," confessed one of the recruits. And the leaders insisted that "it was no sin for us to do so, for the Lord had commanded us to do it." Still some followers objected to the killing of women and children. The leaders would not hear, answering "what was the use of killing the louse and leaving the nit." Total destruction was not only prudent, but in keeping with the Word of God. Other recruits, similar to those in the 1816 Camden conspiracy, wondered about the ministers, believing that they at least should be spared. But white preachers were considered especially guilty. Vesey commanded:

> Ministers were to be killed except a few who were to be saved and showed the different passages in the Bible from which Denmark preached (& the rest) and they were to be asked, Why they did not preach up this thing (meaning the passages on liberty & C) to them before. . . .[67]

One such passage was from Exodus. The first chapter deals with enslavement of Jews by the Egyptians, as undeserved a bondage as that of black servitude. Another favorite was Exodus 21:16:

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•17 And he that stealeth a man, and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death.

Slave religious leaders also had many questions to put to ministers about the nineteenth chapter of Isaiah, which seemed apocalyptic in the wake of Santo Domingo and the 1820 controversy over admission of Missouri as a slave state. The first two verses read:

> The burden of Egypt. Behold, the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and shall come into Egypt: and the idols of Egypt shall be moved at his presence, and the heart of Egypt shall melt in the midst of it.
> And I will set the Egyptians against Egyptians, and they shall fight every one against his brother and everyone against his neighbor; city against city and kingdom against kingdom.[48]

Some conspirators who became informants after the death of the leadership and capture of many stalwart followers, told the Court of the biblical analyses which Vesey and Poyas employed. Rebel leaders likened their struggle and compared their chances of success to the biblical narrative in which the Jews took the Canaanite city of Jericho. The poorly armed Israelites conquered the city with the help of a harlot and through divine intercession. The relationship between the seige of Jericho and the planned slave rebellion was more than coincidental as far as black Methodists were concerned. The assistance reportedly expected from certain "low life" undesirable white men in Charleston and the belief that God was working on their behalf emboldened the followers. Vesey's reading of the scriptures was well known. "He studied the Bible a great deal and tried to prove from it that slavery and bondage is against the Bible," said one witness. Another witness, a white youth who frequented Vesey's business, related that "all his religious remarks were mingled with slavery."[49]

Thus the fears and apprehensions of slaveholders were not without foundation. A literate, skilled, but oppressed black leadership, armed with the militant nationalism and spiritual example of Mosaic law, could easily transpose their situation and parallel it with that of the ancient Jews. But Denmark Vesey and his cohorts used more than scripture recitation to inspire rebellion. He reportedly told timid slaves the story of Hercules and the wagoner as a means of boosting their courage. Such a parable convinced Rolla Bennett to join:

> I was one day on horseback going to market when I met him on foot; he asked me if I was satisfied in my present situation; if I remembered the fable of Her-

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cules and the Waggoner whose waggon was stalled, and he began to pray, and Hercules said, you fool put your shoulder to the wheel, whip up the horses and your waggon will be pulled out; that if we did not put our hand to the work and deliver ourselves, we should never come out of slavery.[70]

Thus Vesey appealed to slaves through a kind of Greek rationalism as well as through his knowledge of the Bible. Biblical recounting of the struggle against bondage provided a major ideological weapon with which to reach the urban slaves who accepted Methodism. Yet even the most edifying features of the adopted religion would not be entirely acceptable or understood outside of the urban milieu. And even in the city the old ways died slowly. Many in the Methodist Church were African-born, nearly all of them slaves and not living in the "privileged" circumstances of the leadership. Hence, Vesey needed to draw partly on an African spiritual heritage. Vesey may have known of Boukman, the vodun high priest in the Santo Domingo revolt. Boukman used African religion as a conspiracy medium even before Toussaint joined the insurrection. Under a banner of the African god of revenge, he and his thousands of followers began the rebellion that brought terror to whites, freedom to slaves, and independence to the black island.[71] Similarly, in South Carolina the real spiritual force that bound the majority of known insurrectionists from Charleston to the country region, from the mainland to the islands, was the African priest Gullah Jack.

Jack, the slave of Paul Pritchard, and, like Vesey, a member of the Hampstead Church, reportedly advocated the rebellion when the black church members were first harassed and abused in 1818. Thus his association with the conspiracy was of the longest duration along with the original six first executed. If Denmark Vesey was the chief theoretician and Peter Poyas the arch plotter and organizer, then Gullah Jack was the religious embodiment of the movement. Jack's influence over the slaves did not derive from his role in the African Methodist Church but from his service as priest and doctor. He was African-born, a little man with "small feet and hands" whose trademark up to the time of his capture was a set of huge black whiskers. To avert capture after discovery of the first attempted revolt, Jack removed this symbol of his power. Jack headed the Gullah Society and his activities and recruiting efforts occurred in and outside of Charleston. As a force within the movement, he was well known among all the slaves. The arch-conspirators told recruits that they would be immune from death or injury at the hands of whites through Gullah Jack's potion and power. One follower related:

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•17 Edwin C. Holland of Charleston published a widely distributed pamphlet which contained the expressed opinions of those who denounced religious practices of African-Americans:

> We are exposed to still greater perils, by the swarm of *MISSIONARIES*, white and black, that are perpetually visiting us, who, with the Sacred Volume of God in one hand, breathing peace to the whole family of man, scatter, at the same time, with the other, the fire-brands of discord and destruction, and secretly disperse among our Negro Population, the seeds of discontent and sedition. It is an acknowledged fact, that some of these religious itinerants, these apostolic vagabonds, after receiving the charities which the philanthropy and open-hearted generosity of our people have bestowed, have, by the means of Tracts and other modes of instruction, all professedly religious in their character, excited among our Negroes . . . a spirit of dissatisfaction and revolt. . . . Those . . . acquainted with the nefarious plot know, how blasphemously the word of God was tortured, in order to sanction the unholy butchery . . . and what a powerful agency was put into operation by the *dispersion* among Negroes, of religious magazines, newspaper paragraphs and insulated texts of scripture. . . . Religion was stripped of her pure and spotless robe, and, panoplied like a fury was made to fight under the banners of . . . Conspiracy.[90]

Many whites associated the African Methodist church, Christian instruction, and antislavery agitation with the rebellion attempt. Others saw African religion as the root cause of the conspiracy. Gullah Jack had pitted the gods of Africa against the Christian god. Even though Jack's courage failed him, revealing to his followers the vulnerability of his power and spirituality, his influence on the salves was frightening and incredulous to the court:

> But no description can accurately convey to others, the impression which the trial, defence and appearance of Gullah Jack made on those who witnessed the workings of his cunning and rude address.[91]

Jack feigned ignorance until brought face to face with his accusers. In that situation his countenance instantly changed and "his wildness and vehemence of gesture, and the malignant glance with which he eyed the witnesses who appeared against him, all indicated the savage, who indeed had been caught but not tamed."[92] The "taming" of the "savage" and efforts to destroy the slaves loyalty to a "foreign" belief system occupied the minds of a few South Carolinians.

The depth of the planning and belief that the conspiracy covered most of the black coast accounted for the disproportionate terrorism and brutality. The Court employed the term "implicated" loosely. Aside from

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the leadership it included anyone with a weapon, anyone "named" with a horse or means of obtaining one, those "named" who met at Bulkey's farm, or who had been in the company of those with weapons and powder. Many families were affected. None was allowed to mourn or to recover the bodies. The July 26 executions were the most horrendous. Twenty-two men were brought to the gallows with the entire city watching. At the execution ground confusion ensued and a slave boy-child was trampled to death by horses. Another boy, white, watched the hanging from the safety of a third floor window of his King Street home. Later he described the spectacle as "a sight calculated to strike terror in the heart of every slave." It was a cold-blooded warning to would-be insurrectionists. But the death agony in the black community continued. On July 30, six more were executed. Additional men were thusly sentenced, but the stench of death began to sicken even white vengeance and these last thirty-six slaves were banished. The final victim to die for attempting to raise the insurrection was on August 2 when one William Garner was caught in Columbia where he had fled following the arrests.[93] It was a reminder of the power of the state and tenacity of slavery. Black leadership had fallen. The black Methodist church was destroyed. And in the eyes of many, African spiritualism had failed the test of service and invincibility against white might and white religion.

Despite apparent failings, many slaves were still tied to old ways, although drawn to the dominant religion as well. In both systems of belief they envisioned a means of attaining their heart's desire—liberty. But the immediate reality indicated that most whites were no more prepared to view Lowcountry slaves as spiritual siblings than as political equals. Yet at this time slaves may have decided that freedom would not come by the sword. The chances were too slim, the risks too many, and the price too dear. Much of the Old Testament militancy faded among the slaves familiar with its tenets. For the majority, who perhaps didn't fully grasp the association, it was not difficult to incorporate into their spiritualism a New Testament ideology which prophesied equality for all and the dignity of the sufferer. New Testament tenets became for them one banner under which to pursue their continued vision of freedom.

The Vesey Conspiracy prompted a lengthy debate and for a number of years afterward the subject of religious education was controversial in South Carolina. Most slave masters in the Lowcountry grew more adamant than ever in resisting Christian instruction of slaves. But among

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tage in argument over those of our Northern Brethren . . . whose objection to our system is partly founded on the deficiency of religious instruction." If said instruction and subsequent conversion were "more genuinely diffused," Pinckney assured, "our national character would be relieved from its only real opprobrium."[6]

C. C. Pinckney's address before the South Carolina Agricultural Society typified the concern of a few planters to make the masses of bondspeople culturally visible for the first time. While reminding slaveholders of their duty to provide spiritual and religious instruction to their slaves, his overriding argument in favor of Christianizing efforts centered on protection of the institution and a countermeasure support system against the influence of leadership in the slave quarters. Christianity, with its concepts of sin and rebirth, could conceivably contribute to the bondspeople's developing a sense of vulnerability and prostration. So long as slaves remained a somewhat foreign and even mysterious mass of laborers, outside the realm of human interest on the part of whites, such slaves were a threat. As Christians however, sharing the same beliefs and spiritual orientation as their masters, blacks would eventually come to feel part of the total society. To imbibe white religion as taught by the new wave of missionaries would, in the mind of Pinckney and others, allow slaves to accept their subservient role in society, making them not only physical dependents but spiritual and psychological dependents as well.

Pinckney's call for bringing Christianity to the slaves was a significant departure, coming as it did from a wealthy, highly recognized planter and politician. This was the first time a large group of South Carolina planters were addressed on the subject by an individual whose respectability was national and whose interests coincided directly with their own. Pinckney's method of approaching the issue was employed by others later. He saw the result of Christian conversion primarily in idyllic terms—happy, docile, "spiritually uplifted" darkies, and a peaceful plantation, free from theft, runaways, and bereft of artful means to avoid labor. The appeal also liberated the slaveholders from a sense of guilt—if they happened to have one—regarding their right to hold slaves. Pinckney reasoned that the doctrines of the Old as well as New Testaments upheld slavery and that scriptures, "if properly taught," would never undermine the slave system. Naturally, the best way to ensure "proper" instruction was to have "Southern men with Southern principles" as teachers. Fi-

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•17 nally, Pinckney's attempted evocation of the planters' sense of "moral duty" as patriarchs had its place. Certainly a thoughtful minority wished to view themselves in this light and Pinckney came as close to epitomizing the term of patriarch as any South Carolina slaveholder could. He gently admonished his listeners with a solemn if pharisaical appeal to conscience: "Is there no room for apprehension of future responsibility before a tribunal whose Judge has expressedly directed the dissemination of his doctrines?"[7]

Hence arguments aiding the erosion of resistance to slave conversion focused particularly around pecuniary concerns, desirability of public peace, a more submissive black population, and justification of slavery by holy writ. Appeals to cultural enlightenment and the slaves' spiritual amelioration were of no consequence without the overriding rationale of a profitable economic venture. The sanction this slaveholding statesman gave to religious instruction paved the way for certain missionaries to go, unmolested, among slaves of the coastal region. Pinckney, supported by at least a small segment of influential slaveholders and clerics, had thrust the issue into the open. From there the South Carolina Methodist church adopted the idea as its own.[8]

The denomination long associated with antislavery activity in South Carolina and often blamed for stirring slave unrest had an opportunity to absolve itself. South Carolina Methodists became pioneers in the Christianizing effort. Despite Pinckney's boast, Methodists were the *only* denomination in 1829 that declared itself ready and able to send "laborers into the field" at the request of planters. Methodist leaders either took a cue from C. C. Pinckney's encouragement by both his public blessing and his employment of a missionary on his own plantations, or quite likely, Pinckney worked with the clergy in introducing the volatile issue to the Lowcountry master class. At any rate, in 1830 the South Carolina Conference organized a department specifically for the purpose of conducting missionary work among the slaves, pledging to "take up the cross" of preaching to African-Americans.[9]

South Carolina Methodists had not ignored plantation slaves before 1829 but neither did they especially seek them out as they did in the urban sector during early years of the connection. In the Lowcountry south of Charleston only a mere smattering of white Methodists resided, and consequently few slaves in the region were exposed to the denomination. In the Charleston District of the nearly 6,000 black Methodists

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around the time of Vesey's Conspiracy, most were slaves. But the up-country, frequented by circuit riders and stimulated by numerous revivals, contained the majority of the state's 18,460 black Methodists at the end of the third decade of the nineteenth century. Thus the coastal plantations, especially in the Sea Islands, were the main target areas during the thirty years of Methodist religious efforts among the bondspeople of South Carolina, and parts of Georgia.[10]

When the South Carolina Methodist Conference met in February 1830, its Missionary Society produced a stirring report entitled "The Southern Slave Population." Authored by James O. Andrew, a slaveholding bishop from Augusta, Georgia, the document noted the lack of missionary service to slaves and lauded the attention and encouragement given by C. C. Pinckney. More significantly, the report indicated a rising concern within the Southern Methodist church. In 1831 Andrew's report was published in the national Methodist journal, indicating that a movement was under way in the regional jurisdiction of the South Carolina Conference. Bishop Andrew acknowledged that in the face of "so many obstacles," a long period of negligence had characterized Methodist attitude. Yet he insisted that the Methodist church was not unmindful of the so-called irreligion of the slaves:

> We saw the efforts made to send the Gospel to distant Pagans, and we heard of the success of those efforts with much gratification. But when, in sight of our own doors, there were thousands of immortal beings, the slaves of a superstition as degrading, and an idolatry as dark as . . . the Pagans of savage lands; and when we observed that comparatively little was doing to guide them to purity and to God, we have blushed for our own inconsistency, and longed to see put into operation such an instrumentality as should extensively and successfully, carry the Gospel to the large and increasing slave population.[11]

The difficulties and magnitude of the undertaking had until recently hindered the Church's commitment Andrew reported. But a new day was dawning. Of late, the Church was "cheered and strengthened" and much gratified by the expressed advocacy of the renowned C. C. Pinckney. The South Carolina Conference considered the words of so "notable and respected" a Carolinian to be a "valuable and powerful auxiliary" in the work undertaken. Speaking on behalf of the Methodists' missionary branch, the slaveholding bishop reiterated even more strongly themes pounded out by Pinckney: the "moral baseness" of un-Christian slaves had to be combated. Among bondspeople, stated Andrew, "the tender

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since this regulation took place within a religious context, ostensibly under the rubric of Christianity. High and low seats in Gullah society assumed a meaning different from African Poro-Sande society. But the function of regulation and community control was still present. The Gullahs reserved the "low seat" for those who betrayed community interests by divulging "the secret of stealing," undoubtedly from the master. This demonstrates the seriousness of solidarity among the people. Thus picking up the benne seed was reserved for the worst of crimes "according to their view of the crime." While the Methodist missionary believed the slaves had incorrect ideas about who should be punished, slaves themselves were using an internal logic with little reference to Protestant conceptions of sin. This Gullah interpretation of sin was at variance with their Christian instruction. A sense of contrition for the safety and peace of the plantation or out of fear of the Christian God was not a motivating issue. For the Gullahs, moral guilt fell on those who forsook socioreligious authority and loyalty in the slave quarters. The presence and influence of black leadership was also revealed as the "punishments" were administered by a "priest." This implies no relationship to the Christian church to which some of the slaves belonged. Missionary Turpin believed the rites strangely akin to Catholicism. Obviously they were not. But in West Africa Poro-Sande priests and priestesses were responsible for administering justice and punishment. Thus this role had some cultural-historical continuity. Slaves saw nothing incongruous about adopting elements of Christian religion and adapting those to aspects of their traditional spiritual heritage still serviceable in the New World setting.

The penance for the "sin" of divulging the secret of stealing was no brief activity, but a rather trying feat. A "gentleman" residing on Bull's Island informed Turpin that an individual usually could not pick up all the scattered benne seeds in one night. And "if it was not done in one night they had to continue until they did it." Thus while the benne seed ritual was not comparable in degree to African punishments instituted by the Poro Council for community crimes, there is a symbolic reference. While representing a form of censure for erring members, it was not the way "Christianized" slaves were expected to interpret the concept of "sin." Turpin stated in his report that having to contend with "all this superstition and ignorance, together with their prejudices against Methodism," he had added few church members. Nor, reported Turpin,

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did he strive to do so, "but rather . . . to beat down their prejudices and to establish a better principle of religion among them, all of which I should not presume any person in this low country would attempt to contradict."[28]

Planters in the May and New River Mission region were offended by statements implying that they tolerated practices such as the one Turpin discussed. Sea Island Baptists felt under attack for not instructing black converts in "true" principles of Christianity and for baptizing slaves without scrutinizing their religious life. Turpin was smarting from the cold reception he received from planters. Turpin did in fact infer that some planters were aware of and permitted un-Christian practices among slaves baptized as Baptists. It was after all a "gentleman" of the Island who had explained to Turpin the workings of the benne seed penance he had observed. Methodist unpopularity among Sea Island planters was recognized at the Missionary Society Headquarters. Soon after the report was circulated, Turpin was removed from the May and New River Mission, and assigned to the John and Wadmalaw Islands Mission in the Charleston District. Turpin insisted, however, that he did not intend to discredit the planters. Nor, he said, did he mean that planters knowingly sanctioned "corrupt" practices among the slaves. Turpin merely wished to point out how irreligious so-called converted slaves were. Through the pages of the *Southern Christian Advocate*, he made a somewhat cynical apology, which undoubtedly did little to assuage the ire of Sea Island planters:

> But it [the report] appears to have injured the feelings of many of the Baptist friends. I did not intend to injure their feelings, nor any other persons, notwithstanding though, it has been said that I have "shot a ball particularly at the Baptists, and in its glance it was hit the Episcopalians." If it has made any mortal wound by its being received in a light different from what I intended, I feel it my duty to heal the wound.[29]

Turpin had indeed offended the planters, especially his comments on the slaves' lack of "truly religious" training, despite Baptist church membership. He believed that the "converted" slaves made a mockery of Christianity. These slaves who "scarcely ever saw the pastor" of their church were members of the First African Church in Savannah. Andrew Bryan's nephew, Andrew Marshall, was the pastor. In 1830, church membership was 2,417. Although a black church, whites were responsible for control and for the conduct of its members. Whites came to the

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staple cotton, a different type of picking, which had to be done from only slightly opened bolls, and a painstaking preparation for the staple market in the ginning process. Men were usually responsible for seed extraction of Sea Island cotton. Jenkins Mikell of the Peters Point Plantation, Edisto Island, gave an account of this activity on his father's estate:

> The operation was long, tedious and fatiguing. It was done on gins operated by foot, a crude plantation, or domestic device for getting out the seed from the lint—one man to a gin. He would stand on his left leg and work a crank-like arrangement, somewhat like a crank that drives a sewing machine, first with his right foot, then when he got tired . . . he would hop on his right foot and work his gin with his left foot—never stopping his gin as he changed. . . . As each man has thirty pounds of lint cotton to gin out for his day's work, he has no time to loaf.[41]

Sea Island slave women also performed arduous, monotonous, and fatiguing work on the plantations. The crop was harvested from late September through December, a cold, damp part of the year on the coast. Women and boys were considered the best pickers, though all field hands would be ordered out at first harvest. As soon as enough cotton was gathered, ginning began which took many men away from the fields. Women pickers worked rapidly yet carefully, so not to bruise the delicate fibers for this would affect the grade. Sea Island planter William Elliott maintained that "the greatest care is used by them to separate from the cotton, all dried leaves or other substances that may impair or discolour." While "prime, young and strong" women engaged in this activity, the elderly, "less sturdy" women and those near their time of childbirth worked in the gin house. They thrashed or "whipped" seed cotton to further remove loose sand or dirt then passed it on to "assorters." This group of women stood before long tables and divided the lint according to color and fineness. From there men received the "assorted" seed cotton for seed extraction. Once this was accomplished, women "moters" inspected and divided the cotton once again, removing fibers stained by the black cotton seed crushed by the gin. Finally, before packing, the cotton was subjected to one final inspection at the "mote table."[42]

The whole process created a tenseness which everyone experienced. A driving momentum was kept up, but quality work was insisted upon since that was the key to the lint's value. Activities were coordinated so

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that cotton did not lie around or be stored after picking since too much exposure injured the product. Some overseers worked the slaves at night and on Sundays. The rawness and wetness of the weather did not deter managers and planters from ordering all "available" hands out to the fields. Though work in the gin house was considered "light" work, this "cotton barn" offered little relief from cold and dampness. The air inside was so unhealthy that slaves preferred the openness of the fields. Workers breathed flying lint and dust during the long hours as they labored in standing positions.[43]

The labor had a telling effect on the slave women's physical health. A callous attitude developed toward needs of pregnant women, postpartum illnesses, infant care, exhaustion and exposure to inclement weather. Bondswoman Susannah, in relating to Laura Towne, the tragedy of having all three of her living sons sold away, mentioned that she had actually had twenty-two pregnancies. Another defiant Gullah woman who worked in the house was beaten frequently by order of the mistress and retaliated by bringing "not one nigger" to Maussa. Another woman was buried up to her neck in earth as punishment, a few days after she had given birth to a stillborn child. Laura Towne, who saw signs of illtreatment, recorded various accounts:

> On this place, the Oaks, Loretta showed me her back, arms and breasts today. In many places there were ridges as high and long as my little finger and everywhere marks of the whip. She said that her children had been killed in her by whipping. She says it was because when "heavy with child," she could not do the full task of a field hand. I suspect also being rather apt to resist and rather smart in speaking her mind, poor thing. She has suffered terribly and it is no wonder that she is more indifferent about her clothes and house. . . . She says this was "de cruelest place."

Loretta lived on the plantation of Daniel Pope, a member of the Sea Island Baptist "aristocracy" who "gave no shoes, salt, molasses, nor Sunday clothes . . . neither would he allow the field hands any meat, nor permit them to raise pigs." In the year before the Civil War Pope determined to make the people work as much as possible, "so he kept them in the field from morning till night and lashed them every day."[44]

Francis Kemble noted on her visit to the Georgia Sea Islands that the principal hardships fell to the lot of the women. She wrote of her first visit to the "Infirmary":

> Women lay prostrate on the floor, without bed, mattress or pillow, buried in tattered and filthy blankets. . . . I stood in the midst of them, perfectly unable

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to speak. . . . Here lay women expecting every hour the terrors and agony of childbirth, others who were groaning over the anguish . . . of miscarriages—here lay some burning with fever, others chilled with cold and aching rheumatism on the hard cold ground, the draughts and dampness of the atmosphere increasing their sufferings, and dirt, noise, and stench, and every aggravation of which sickness is capable, combined in their condition.[45]

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Conditions among the female population affected Kemble deeply. She spent much time trying to alleviate deprivation and discomfort. For her concern she faced the resentment of Pierce Butler, who considered her interfering with plantation "discipline." An antislavery Englishwoman, Kemble claimed she married Butler without knowledge of his human property. Their divergent views caused dissension between them. On one occasion, Kemble wrote of Butler's reaction to the petition of a group of slave women:

Mr. _____ was called out this evening to listen to a complaint of overwork from a gang of pregnant women. I did not stay to listen to the details of their petition, for I am unable to command myself on such occasions and Mr. _____ seemed positively degraded in my eyes as he stood enforcing upon these women the necessity of their fulfilling their appointed tasks . . . as a *duty*.[46]

The conditions of labor under the "peculiar institution" hindered longevity and a natural increase in birth rate survival among the slaves. Both races paid in different ways because cotton planters did not usually attend to their estates personally, and because they too often judged managerial quality by the magnitude of cotton profits. But illegal imports still contributed to the increase in slaves. The last slave vessel to arrive in the Sea Islands, the ship *Wanderer*, was in 1858. Sea Island planters had opposed reopening the slave trade in South Carolina in 1803, apparently because it might have decreased market value of their own slaves at a time when these planters were economically vulnerable. However, after the close of the African trade to North America in 1807, and the rise of Sea Island cotton, planters engaged in smuggling. Illegal importations continued to contribute to the native African population.[47] Even more significantly, many American-born slaves were only one or two generations from African ethnicity, because many were imported into the Sea Islands during the last two decades before the War of Independence.

Thus Methodist missionaries found very oppressed but tightly knit communities of African-Americans still clinging to patterns of social behavior and modes of worship, largely a mystery to whites, having devel-

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It is not only the duty of the missionary to catechize the children and preach to the adults, but also to visit the sick and aged, and it is here that many a triumph has been achieved for his Lord. Many a dark and benighted soul has been brought into the light and liberty of the Gospel. Here, too, does he frequently prepare himself for the exercises of the pulpit, for it is here that he learns the way to the negro's heart, and becomes acquainted with his ideas of God and religion. The negro knows that his minister is not ashamed to enter his smoky cabin, to take him by his rough and toil-hardened hand, and talk to him about the way to heaven, or to kneel beside his bed, offer prayer in his behalf, and to pour into his heart the consolation of God's word. It is this that frequently takes his heart captive, and binds him to the cross.[41]

Here then was the religion of the warm heart at its spiritually redeeming best among the Gullahs. A disarming warmth of feeling, an effort to bridge, spiritually at least, the gap between black and white, slave and free was to serve a definite purpose. Such acts, seemingly prompted purely by human kindness, deeply affected the Gullahs, so unaccustomed to being objects of concern among whites except in matters related to labor. Gradually, the more seasoned missionaries like Chreitzberg began to stimulate a "change of heart" in the slaves. Especially affecting was the adaptation of some sermons and lectures to the daily lives and fortunes of the Gullahs. Hence they came to identify elements of Christianity with their own circumstances. Skillful variation of preaching methods, coupled with a fraternal spirit which the missionaries demonstrated toward the Gullahs, was effective. By the mid-1840s a goodly number of slaves had "professed" their conversion to Christianity under Methodist tutelage.

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Missionaries such as Chreitzberg took full advantage of opportunities to service their black congregations in the hope of winning more converts. Below Chreitzberg describes the value to be derived from officiating at a Gullah night funeral:

"What" says the not-to-be-disturbed-at-night Pastor of a Chapel of Ease, "put yourself to the trouble of burying a *dead* negro?" Why not? We have unsuperable objections to burying a *living* one, but see no reason why the last sad office of the Church should not be performed over the remains of the black man. Has he no affections, are there no weeping friends to be consoled. . . . But apart from this, may not the living be effectually warned? When the dead man lies before them in all his helplessness, stricken down in his prime and (as in this case) suddenly called to the final account,—what better time to read to them a lesson on the uncertainty of life.

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These were golden opportunities for the missionary. The entire plantation gathered to see a body laid to rest in "its narrow house." The preacher first consoled the sorrowful widow, bidding her to trust God, "the husband of the widow and father of the fatherless." He then addressed the dead man's fellow servants on the necessity of preparing for death: "In a word I preached Jesus and the resurrection, and by the glimmering of the lightwood fire, was the burial service read and the body committed to the dust." Upon leaving the plantation late that night, the missionary was moved by thoughts which were probably not very different from thoughts which the slaves who had just witnessed the burial might have, "thoughts on life, on life's duties, on life's end: of the wants and woes of the world."[62]

Once again the missionary capitalized on an opportunity to involve himself in the black community and the slaves' experience. His efforts to share in and add meaning to life and death among the bondspeople helped make him a presence in the quarters even if he came but twice a month. He was, for his caring, often looked upon fondly. Although the missionary represented the same forces of oppression as did the master, the slaves perceived the spiritual arm of the dominant society as perhaps its one redeeming quality, a contradiction to serve the slaves' interests. Still the fondness was more on an individual level. A well-meaning Methodist like Chreitzberg was accepted though all he preached and taught was not. From the slaves' vantage point it was unwise to completely relinquish that which had previously provided spiritual solace and replace it with something new and as yet untried. For missionaries able to secure access to plantations, spiritual rewards might be inspiring if short-lived. Through catechism, "class meeting," and carrying out of pastoral duties, Methodists experienced some triumphs for Christianity. Missionaries never succeeded in dethroning black leadership and felt that this influence continually created obstacles to Christian conversion.[63] Nevertheless, Methodists proved to be relentless in the dissemination of their doctrines. As Gullahs grew more attentive to the preachers' words, they discarded the incongruous and discordant features of the instruction and fashioned the religion of slaveholders into something peculiarly their own.

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One of the most significant effects that Methodism had on Gullahs was in the creation of the religious music of these slaves. Some scholars argue that the actual source of Gullah religious songs can be traced to Methodist hymns and tunes sung at camp meetings. Certainly Methodist

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hymns were adopted by the Gullahs and other slaves. Francis Asbury traveled the seacoasts of Georgia and South Carolina frequently. While he gained few white converts, he was impressed with the black response to his preaching. During the Civil War, musicologists and others, fascinated by Gullah songs, noted that what was sometimes called a "Negro song," was of white origin, especially the so-called religious songs. But to these white melodies, the Gullahs added their own "spirit and relish," giving a "peculiar individuality and nationality" to the music. Thus it is pointless and probably inaccurate to insist that whites and blacks did not create sacred music together when they worshipped together. Such was the case at camp meetings and revivals. Still these gatherings were not as common in the Lowcountry as they were elsewhere. Some writers argue that the camp meeting was distinctly a pineland and upcountry institution. Although evidence indicates that a few camp meetings were held in the rice communities—the hinterlands of the Sea Islands—we find no record of its presence on any of the islands. The influence of the domestic slave trade, black-white cultural borrowing, and diffusion were all factors in the creation and development of African-American music. Nevertheless, a unique continuity in religious songs can be found in the Sea Islands and coastal lowlands. There were indeed two types of religious music among the Gullahs who adopted Christianity: those songs and hymns learned from white religious instructors and mainly Methodist in origin, and those representing the product of the Gullah's own creativity and imagination, generally referred to as spirituals or prayer songs.[44]

The primary influence of Methodist preachers on the development of spirituals was in providing Gullahs with raw material for their songs. From past spiritual traditions these African-Americans inherited a mysticism, sense of drama, and creative antecedents that aided them in expressing and interpreting through song the apocalyptic and miraculous elements of biblical narration already rich in symbolic imagery. Also, New Testament biblical lore was not unlike the Gullahs' own oppression and suffering. From the Sea Islands in 1843, A. M. Chreitzberg provides examples of the spontaneous creation of spirituals. In delivering his message, the missionary enforced the concepts of "repentance toward God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ." At the conclusion of the meeting, the group was "much affected" by a "soft female voice" singing:

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CHAPTER 7

To Make Them Better Slaves: Baptist Persuasion, 1830–1861

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Lizzy, Excommunicated, running away and insolent to owner.
Charles, Excommunicated, stealing corn and breaking into corn house.
Nell, Excommunicated, theft.
Joe, Excommunicated, drunkenness and running away.
Bacchus, Suspended, selling whiskey in violation of the law, publically punished for it in stocks.*

. . . All de time, dey'd lick you. After dey'd like 'em until de blood come out, den dey'd rub de red pepper and salt on 'em. Oh, my God! Kin you say dem as done such as dat aint gone to dere reward? My uncle was whip so he went in de woods, an' live dere for monts. Had to learn de independent life. Mr. Aldridge was de overseer. Old Mr. Aldridge gone now. But dere can't be no rest for him. Oh my God no!**

"Christian" Masters

In 1845, concerned clergymen called a three-day meeting in Charleston, inviting planters, ministers, and statesmen to discuss religious instruction of the slave population. A "chief mover and supporter" of white Baptist activity in the Sea Island region was St. Helena patriarch William Fripp. Fripp reported that on St. Helena Island "the gospel has

*Committee on Discipline, *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, July 8, 1842, 34, BC.
**Solbert Butler, former slave, in George P. Rawick, ed., *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, 19 vols., *South Carolina Narratives*, vols. 2 & 3, in 4 Parts, (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing, 1972) II (1), 162.

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•17 been preached for many years to our Negroes." The boast needs qualification and amplification. Certainly as far back as Whitefield and the Bryans periodic spurts of whites *preaching* to blacks occurred. Also the more recent and protracted Methodist presence in the Lowcountry is another illustration. Moreover, some slaves could occasionally take advantage of the few existing white-controlled black churches in the Savannah and Augusta, Georgia area. Most Baptist churches in the region were members of the Savannah River Baptist Association organized in 1803 by Georgia and South Carolina. In 1818 the Association divided, including only churches north of the Savannah River and within South Carolina. Jurisdiction was in the districts of Beaufort, Barnwell, and Colleton, but most member churches were concentrated in Beaufort District. By 1830 the Savannah River Association consisted of thirty-two churches. Back rows and galleries seated free blacks, as well as domestic and artisan slaves. Thus despite assurances of William Fripp, prior to 1830 the masses of slaves were not included in Baptist apostolic activity and only nominally represented in a few white congregations.[1]

175 797 In 1831 and 1832, a short-lived but prolific Lowcountry revival occurred and reportedly stirred a number of planters in the Sea Island region to accept a religious affiliation. The effects of this "remarkable" religious awakening were most visible in Baptist congregations, and records of the Savannah River Baptist Association indicate a comparatively large membership increase in these churches. By 1831 the largest Beaufort District churches were Euhaw, Pipe Creek, Black Swamp, Beaufort, St. Helena, and May River. In 1830, just prior to the revival, the combined number of baptismal candidates for these churches was 164. Toward the end of 1831, a total of 228 baptisms were reported. In 1832 (795) Black Swamp and Pipe Creek made no reports, but the other four larger churches reported a total of 619 baptisms.[2] Considering the paucity of whites in these areas the numbers represent significant increases. Early records had no racial breakdown, but evidence indicates that some of the converts before 1831 were black.

175 567 797 Both Episcopalian and Baptist planters "smitten" during the famous 1831 revival reportedly took new interest in Christianizing their slaves. The former denomination allowed Methodist missionaries to preach and teach among bondspeople. No missionary movement for slaves was organized by the Baptists, however. And rather than allow Methodists on their plantations, most Baptist planters who favored the enterprise preferred to accept "converted" slaves into their own churches.[3]

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175 NN23 rian and former pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church in Washington, of which both John Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson were members. He left the Washington Church to accept a pastorship in Savannah and there heavily engaged in evangelical preaching. The impact of Baker's sermons was reportedly felt along the entire seaboard of Georgia and South Carolina. Wherever he preached a steady stream of converts came forth. His was not a mass revival since the seaboard white population was sparse. But hundreds attended the protracted meetings which Baker conducted in "the little sea coast towns and villages" mainly inhabited by planter aristocracy. And his sermons reputedly "moved whole communities." Baker wrote in his autobiography that his South Carolina efforts led to "important results" in places such as Gillisonville, Grahamville, Robertville, May River, and Beaufort. The meetings at Beaufort he deemed "the most remarkable." There was no Presbyterian church so Baker preached alternately in the Baptist and Episcopalian churches. "Oh, what blessed meetings we had!" he wrote. Baker preached three times a day "to full houses," and the numbers "hopefully converted amounted to about eighty."[17]

In regard to the number "hopefully converted" in Beaufort, Baker apparently took only white converts into account. Another section of Baker's autobiography quotes the Episcopal minister as stating that there were "two or three hundred conversions in Beaufort under Mr. Baker's ministry," consisting of "a number of whites," seventy of whom presented themselves for confirmation at the Episcopal church, and "very many blacks," who united with the Baptists.[18] Thus at least some of the slaves from the town of Beaufort participated in the Baker revival.

•17 At the time of Baker's appearance the two houses of worship in Beaufort were described by one of thier "eminent laymen" as "little better than masonic lodges." The churches had the form of godliness but were "destitute of its power." The "layman" observed that "frequenters of the race-course and the theater found their places at the communion table," and that not even the duelist was excluded. Baker was credited with stimulating religious enthusiasm among "decadent" members of the planter class. An observer of the 1831 revival noted that in at least one instance derision of Baker's mission was transformed into contrition. Notice of Baker's services was sent from house to house. The announcement was received at a whist club during their weekly meeting. The notice was read aloud "amidst shouts of merriment." The group ridiculed the reli-

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gious meeting and decided to attend, "confident of their ability to withstand all the preacher's snares." They attended Baker's meeting and found themselves "overcome" by a force stronger than they, and stripped "of the armour wherein they trusted." Before the revival ended, eight of the party of eleven "were found sitting at the feet of Jesus." One became a bishop, and another a presbyter of the Episcopal church.[19]

Word of the spiritual awakening in Beaufort District was carried to other parts of the state and even attracted coverage in national religious presses. The Methodist *Christian Advocate and Journal* printed an article illustrating the pitch of regeneration fervor aroused in Beaufort. The correspondent, one of those converted, stated that "no one can conceive who was not present," the effects of the revival on the resort town. Schools were closed, businesses, shops, and stores were shut—even politics were forgotten. The church was "filled to overflowing—seats, galleries, aisles, exhibited a dense mass of human beings from hoary age to childhood." Yet despite the multitude, "breathless silence" prevailed, broken only by the preacher's "reproving, persuading, imploring, thrilling" voice. Crowds reportedly came forward, and fell prostrate at the feet of the altar, as the musical voices of hundreds rose over the kneeling multitude. The scene was compelling, related the participant-observer, and "it was not in human hearts to resist the influence that awoke its sympathies, and spoke to its purest and most elevated feeling."[20]

Residents insisted that Baker was responsible for bringing new life to many Lowcountry churches. This rebirth was most visible in Beaufort. Citizens there claimed that even twenty years later there was a "a higher moral and religious tone, and a more intelligent and consistent profession of Christianity maintained."[21]

The Beaufort Baptist Church recorded a sizable white membership increase over a period of about ten years following Baker's appearance. And the augmentation of black members was unprecedented. According to membership lists, only 62 whites united with the church from 1804 (the year of its establishment) to 1831. From July 1831 to October 1840, 110 whites joined the congregation. Thus the majority of Beaufort Church's over 2,000 member increase from 1831 to 1840 consisted of black converts. Increases at other Beaufort District Baptist churches participating in the revival, though not as impressive, were nevertheless considerable compared to the majority of other churches in the Savannah River Baptist Association.[22] Thus, emerging zeal in some of the Baptist churches

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in the Sea Island District inspired more attention toward the spiritual welfare of the Gullahs.

Daniel Baker's conversion of Richard Fuller in 1831 had significant implications for Christianizing efforts in the Sea Islands. Under Fuller's ministration the Beaufort Church became the largest, most influential congregation in the Sea Island region. Fuller was greatly moved by the reformer's cry to instruct the slaves and was largely responsible for the comparatively phenomenal growth of the Beaufort Baptist Church.[23]

Richard Fuller was a member of the Fuller-Middleton family, long-time residents of Beaufort District. Fuller's personal holdings consisted of plantations on St. Helena and Cat Islands as well as the mainland. At the time of Baker's appearance in Beaufort, Fuller was a wealthy, well-established, Harvard-educated attorney not yet thirty years old. His parents were Baptists, but at birth Fuller was baptized an Episcopalian. Following his "moving" conversion in 1831, Fuller was rebaptized and he united with the local Episcopal church. But, not finding the "peace of mind" nor the "inspiration" he sought, Fuller was baptized again, this time in the Beaufort River, and as a Baptist. As further evidence of his reformation, Fuller immediately relinquished his lucrative law practice and declared himself called to the gospel ministry. In 1832 he was ordained a Baptist minister and accepted pastorship of Beaufort Church, where he remained until 1847. He then accepted a call to the Seventh Street Baptist Church in Baltimore where he was pastor until 1871.[24]

Late in his career, Fuller confided to a friend that when he was initially "called" to the ministry he resolved to confine his labors wholly to the slave population. But, Fuller claimed, he "was prevented by the hand of God." Although he did not devote his entire career to religious instruction of bondspeople, as a minister in Beaufort Fuller spent much of his time to preaching among the Gullahs. The attention and interest he gave represented a turning point in the religious history of Sea Island blacks. The immense African-American population, previously ignored by Baptist planters and churches, gradually, under the administration of Fuller, became objects of concern from a spiritual standpoint. As white membership increased, slaves of these new members were baptized and the Beaufort Church became a training ground for black Baptist converts at liberty to attend services. Fuller insisted that galleries be given over to the bulging black membership. A special lecture room was also added where black church members could be instructed before and after Sun-

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cern for religious instruction was mainly superficial. Possibly some wished to ease a sense of conscience aroused by the 1831 revival and to neutralize criticism from Northern quarters. But more significantly, Baptist interest in Christianizing the Gullahs was prominent where doctrine might be a means of exerting influence over personal behavior and social relationships to further the existing status quo.

"Christian" Slaves

Mostly town slaves and house servants were first accepted into Baptist churches. Certainly, in the early phase of the movement, these African-Americans had access to the "privilege" of becoming church members. Since Beaufort was the chief place of residence for Sea Island planters, their retinue of house servants had the opportunity, and sometimes were forced to attend Baptist worship. As church membership increased, the next group of slaves in plantation hierarchy, the artisans, were also represented. Field workers were not completely excluded from the churches, especially Beaufort Church. When a slaveholder and his family joined a church, his slaves might be required to join as well. Richard Fuller, for instance, was diligent about accepting his slaves into Beaufort Church and encouraged this among his slaveholding neighbors. Yet few Sea Island Baptists allowed their field slaves the mobility needed to attend preaching places. This rule must have applied particularly to slaves wishing to attend church service in places like Beaufort or Bluffton that necessitated leaving the Islands or vicinity of the plantations for long periods of time and usually required some means of water transportation provided by the planter. Furthermore, these country churches were modest-sized structures, built mainly with the small white population in mind. Not all churches even had galleries. Among those that did, once the more "privileged" slaves and house servants were seated, there was obviously no room for the field hands. According to one former Beaufort slave:

> Didn't have no colored churches. De drivers and de overseers, de house-servants, de bricklayers and folks like dat'd go to de white folk's church. But not de field hands. Why dey couldn't have all got in de church. My marsa had threę or four hundred slaves, himself. And most of the other white folks had just as many and more.

Even with favored slaves, concepts of white spiritual egalitarianism did not go far. Beaufort whites insisted in 1841 that the inside stairs leading

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to the slave galleries be moved to the outside so that the two races would not have to pass each other, or use the same entrance when they met to worship God in common.[17] One can thus imagine the disdain that "gentle" white folk felt at being in close quarters with field slaves.

Some whites considered it a dangerous practice to allow slaves to leave plantations to attend church no matter what their status. Thomas Fuller, Episcopalian brother of the venerable Richard, reported on the state of religious instruction at the Charleston Meeting. Fuller complained that the habit of black church members descending upon the town of Beaufort was deplorable:

> Removed as so large a number are, every Sunday from the control and discipline of the plantation, and impossible as it is for the Church to know and control their conduct, they use their liberty in ways and for purposes adverse to their morals. Nothing seems to me more essential in order to their becoming a religious people, than that they be subjected to the supervision of the plantation, of the minister of a Church, that will investigate and correct their wrong views and bad habits. . . . It is owing, I think, to the want of religious instruction and discipline on the plantations, that the influence of religious instruction and the spirit of subordination among the negroes is so little seen and felt.[18]

Baptist planters themselves recognized and attempted to confront these problems. As church memberships increased, a means of superintending the widespread congregation and keeping slaves on the plantations was needed. Black church members were organized into plantation associations under the jurisdiction of the church.

These "black societies" were the nucleus of the Gullah socioreligious community. They existed even before preaching stations were established and were reportedly religious bodies which slaves entered into voluntarily, although the nature and origin of these societies was unknown. Methodist missionaries found them already organized and a hindrance to Methodist authority among the slaves, especially when their practices were under the rubric of Christianity. In 1833, John Field, a St. Helena planter, wrote to the Methodist missionary assigned to the island. Speaking for himself and "others," Field expressed his disapproval of the societies, and of the slaves' association with the Baptist Church on St. Helena. According to Field, the slaves who joined the church were "almost entirely under the control of Negro leaders." The Methodist missionary's preaching on the island prompted "constant ap-

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plication" of slaves for "tickets to get baptized," and join the Baptist Church. The slaves derived no Christian benefit from their association with the church, said Field, but used it as "a place of resort." Field "suspected an influence decidedly contrary to vital godliness," but added that it could not be prevented "unless I resided on the place myself."[39]

If the benne seed ritual is an example,[40] these societies had some characteristics similar to African associations. It is later argued that the black societies were, like the African societies, units of organization that regulated conduct and served to integrate individuals into the plantation community. Within these societies Gullahs practiced their own version of Christianity, and created their religious folk-culture. Baptist planters apparently intended to alter the "corrupt" elements within these slave associations and use them to promote a Christianity, suitable to their own ends. Slaves' familiarity with concepts of secret society, membership, and social regulations suggest a relationship to African institutions that Christian ideas of a community of believers reinforced. Like the formation of Gullah language, the syncretic evolution of African Christianity was a gradual process. It began when diverse African groups framed a spiritual commonality and belief system into which Christianity, at various times and with varied intensity, was incorporated, reformulated and appropriated. For many years, Gullahs heard of "Christianity" mainly from black rather than white teachers, and this contributed to the persistence of African norms, thought, and ceremony. But, as the benne seed ritual suggests, the presence of black "Christians" in the slave quarters undoubtedly produced debates, challenges, acknowledgments and selective adaptation even before 1830.

While Methodist missionaries were "suspicious" of the black societies, for Baptists they were a medium for religious service and discipline among the slaves. Thus the black societies served one function for slaves and embodied another for slave owners. At Beaufort and other churches, slaves professing conversion as Baptists had to unite with a society. Beaufort Church, with its large black membership and extensive records, illustrates how whites expected these societies to function. At first black leaders had charge of the societies, but subject to the superintendence of a resident planter. The black leaders reported at the monthly church meeting. According to the Minutes of Beaufort Church for November 11, 1840:

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bility of such an accomplishment, an intense love of family and deep attachments to familiar surroundings kept runaways nearby. Perhaps even more than any other slaves in the United States, Gullahs maintained a clan-type kinship community, and in their isolation clung tenaciously to these relationships. This attitude was also expressed toward their plantations. Those Gullahs able to purchase small twenty-acre plots of land during the Port Royal experiment, resisted buying on any plantation other than their "own." They thought "it was as bad as slavery if they had to leave their old homes." Yet as slaves, Gullahs ran away frequently and bad treatment was the leading cause for absence. Treatment was also a recurring theme in Gullah songs, as indicated by this slave worksong related by Sam Polite:

I wuk in field on Maussa Johnnie Fripp plantation. Sometime we sing w'en we wuk. One song we sing ben go lak dis:

"Go way, Ole Man
Go way, Ole Man
W'ere you bin all day
If you treat me good
I'll stay 'till de Judgment day,
But if you treat me bad,
I'll sho' to run away."[58]

Not all masters were cruel. For example, the Gullahs represented "Capt. John" Fripp as a kind man. Still, his "whipping post" was within twenty feet of the "drawing-room." The tree, "a sprawling Asia-berry," covered with grey moss, "looked wiered enough." "Capt. John" reportedly never "licked" hard nor struck "in the same place twice." Fripp's houseman, Dick, only recalled getting one "hard" flogging, when he watered the old man's garden with seawater. However, his wife, the cruel one, liked "to stand at the window to see the floggings," administered by "Driver Moody," when "Capt. John" was away. Thomas Chaplin of Tombee Plantation was tough enough, and threatened his slaves a great deal. He was also an insensitive master in regard to selling slaves, unable to believe blacks had the same familial loyalty as white people. He wrote in his Journal, "cowhide was all talk with me." But one must take such a comment skeptically since he frequently had his drivers do the flogging. Chaplin was not remembered by his slaves for excessive cruelty nor for kindness.[59]

Rarely could a Sea Island slave boast, as one did, that their backs "stan

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lak white man's," that is, with no marks of the whip. "Talk o' lick um sar?" answered one slave when queried about floggings, "yes, sar, nebber did noffin but lick um sar." He insisted that they were whipped when they didn't work and "when we work, hard lick um all same sar." A "devil" for cruelty was Alviro Fripp who "before he got religion use to cuss and cuss and cuss." But when he joined the Baptist church, he could no longer cuss, "so he used to lick 'em instead." The "richest man on St Helena," Edgar Fripp, was reportedly the meanest, and his temper knew no bounds at "full moon." He also worked his slaves all night in full moon at cotton-picking time. The Gullahs went out of their way to avoid him for if a hat was not tipped quick enough or a bow low enough, Fripp would "lay his horsewhip on them well."[60]

Of the many cases of harsh treatment and sometimes actual barbarity, few compared with the 1849 incident recorded by Thomas Chaplin in his Journal. Chaplin's neighbor, James Sandiford, was brought before an inquest of planters regarding the death of his slave, Roger. In examining the slaves' remains, Chaplin wrote that "such a shocking sight never before met my eyes." The slave, a born cripple who "used his knees more than his feet," had been instructed, on a "cold and bitter day," to paddle a boat downriver for oysters and then to cut a bundle of mud marsh. Roger, instructed to return before "high water," did not show up until "ebb tide." But he brought back seven baskets of oysters and a small bundle of marsh. "That," commented Chaplin, "was more than the primest of my fellows would have done." But Sandiford gave Roger thirty lashes for not returning sooner, for not cutting more marsh, and for hollering loudly while being flogged for the first two offenses. Sandiford later eavesdropped on a conversation Roger had in the kitchen with another man. Two versions of the exchange were reported. According to the planter, Roger stated that if he had "sound limbs" he would shoot down a white man before he took a flogging. The man to whom Roger spoke denied this, informing the jurors that Roger said "he would turn his back on them if they shot him down," which Chaplin believed was the truth. Neither comment, in Chaplin's opinion, warranted the punishment Roger received:

> For these *crimes*, this man, this demon in human shape, this pretended Christian, member of the Baptist Church, had this poor cripple Negro placed in an open outhouse, the wind blowing through a hundred cracks, his clothes wet to the waist, without a single blanket & in freezing weather, with his back against the

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tical about employing blacks even as helpers. William Capers insisted that "helpers" only be "a feeble staff—not leaned upon. They can no more do the missionary's work than a staff can walk." On the other hand, Sea Island Baptists placed much Christian teaching on the shoulders of black leaders. Methodists were consistently confronted with the problems created by this difference in tactical approach. After 1845 most black elders operated with the approval of slaveholders. Some, according to Methodists, had rudimentary knowledge of Christianity. But most, said the missionaries, represented "the very essence of ignorance and superstition." Some slaves came to Methodists' preaching and "precious seasons" and "effusions of tears would ensue." But Methodists lamented that slaves immediately deserted them for "one of their own":

> Let it be known that one of these [slaves] is to preach on such a day and there is such a rush . . . that they may have the pleasure of hearing one of their own color . . . what else than mischief can be expected from the teaching of an ignorant enthusiast who knows nothing of God's word, and puts his own delusions in the place of divine truth? . . . and they say that whenever they come to hear me, it is from duty . . . because I am employed by their owners."

Wherever Baptists authorized Christian instruction, Methodists found black leaders and black societies. "The society exerts its influence against us which is remarkably strong," wrote the missionary at Pocotaligo in 1844. "This 'society' is altogether in the hands of the colored people who are actively engaged against us." Thus black leaders struggled to maintain their position among their people and continued preaching and practicing their own version of "Christianity." Methodists hoped the establishment of missions would fragment the influence of black teachers and thus foster the cause of "true" religion. A lengthy editorial was printed in the *Southern Christian Advocate* in 1846 where the author discussed the "deplorable exhibition of pseudo religion" among slaves of the large plantations in coastal South Carolina:

> The superstitious notions prevalent here and there, are probably the reflects of—more ancient superstitions, handed down by tradition and propagated by so called *leaders*, who prior to the preaching of the gospel by . . . the missionaries . . . wielded a fearful amount of spiritual influence among their followers, and the negro communities of the plantations generally. And it is what with remarkable tenacity these superstitious actions still maintain their hold in spite of a better teaching. Instead of giving up their visionary religiónism, embracing the simple truth . . . our missionaries find them endeavoring to incorporate their

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superstitious rites with a purer system of instruction, producing thereby a hybrid, crude, and undefinable medley of truth and falsehood.[78]

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Many missionaries saw slave children as the future of the enterprise. Others were even skeptical about that. According to one Methodist, "so far does prejudice extend, even the children on some of these places refuse to be instructed, because of the example of their parents and the older ones." Many Baptist planters left instruction of the young in the hands of plantation "help" who taught the children prayers and whatever else their religious instruction consisted of. Gradually, Methodists were forced to admit that despite their consistent though infrequent preaching and catechizing, they could not successfully compete with black leadership operating clandestinely or with the approval of Baptist churches and slaveholders.[79]

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The Episcopalian mission established in 1849 on the Sea Isalands took away the near monopoly that Methodist missionaries previously had among a number of Episcopalian planters. Episcopalian slaveholders observed the same uninterested attitude among the slaves as Methodists witnessed. John Edwin Fripp, a St. Helena Episcopalian, allowed his slaves to attend the preaching of a diocese missionary while Fripp himself was in residence on the plantation. But given a choice, few showed up to hear "Mr. Welch" when the minister was on the plantation. According to Fripp's Journal:

> Sat. Dec. 19th—Rev. Welch is down tonight lecturing to the Negroes. Will go to Seabrooks in the Morning. The Negroes appear very backward in coming to hear him. They are getting tired of religion I expect.

No doubt "religion" was not what tired Fripp's slaves, but the dry "lecturing" which often characterized missionary sermons. Gullahs realized that planters were not truly concerned with their spiritual welfare and the they recognized the one-sidedness of their situation. An old coachman on the same Fripp plantation stated "massa been unjust to we. Take all we labor and get rich, then say we lazy, Can't care for we self, give us two suits a year, dat our wages."[80] No one need wonder about the degree of enthusiasm Gullahs had for the religious emissary of such masters.

Thus, a key to understanding the appeal of the Baptist faith for Gullahs lies in recognizing the slaves' rationale. Methodist emphasis on order and hierarchy left little room for internal flexibility in the denomina-

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tional structure. Baptists on the other hand had separate congregations, loosely bound together. Baptists sanctioned black associations that were relatively independent of the church and largely dominated by the slaves themselves. In some cases Baptists even provided Gullahs with a place to hold society and "prays" meetings among themselves, however humble such places were. Moreover, Baptist planters authorized religious leaders from the quarters with whom the Gullahs readily identified. Not surprisingly then, to the extent that Gullahs adopted Christianity, they considered themselves Baptists. The Baptist faith became the Gullahs' own personal religion, one they molded and fashioned away the watchful, critical eyes of the forces of spiritual "superiority" and physical exploitation.

Why did the Baptist slaveholders permit this flexibility and modicum of freedom to their slaves? The answer probably lies with the slaveholders' capacity for self-deception and belief in the power of their ability to dominate (for which as a class they are well known). Thus they were confident that black leaders' presentation of Christianity would not jeopardize plantation interests. In keeping with the merging Southern religious vogue of the time, slaveholders ultimately believed in the soothing effects of Christianity on a slave population's mentality. Furthermore, a limited degree of personal commitment had an effect on some slaveholders' attitude toward Christian instruction. For if "duty" and Christian instruction harmonized in bringing more order and discipline to the plantation, clearly nothing was at risk. The primary reason for Baptist involvement with Christian instruction was its potential for perpetuating power and cultural ascendancy over the slaves, to maintain the "Southern way of life" for the dominant class. The Gullahs, however, perceived the situation differently.

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the pledge of freedom won them over, and by January 1863, formation of the "First Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers" was complete.[14]

Many whites either doubted the African-American slaves' capacity to fight the slaveholders, feared the consequences of an armed black population, or simply expressed racialist convictions in their attitude. But exigencies of war turned slaves into liberators, and black soldiers demonstrated what freedom meant to people in bondage. The "enthusiasm," "alarcrity," and sense of duty among men of the "First South" was reportedly unmatched. Rather than fearful, they were impatient to fight. Their commander, Colonel Higginson, insisted that "braver men never lived." Accustomed to bearing pain, some did not even report injuries after battles. Frequently susceptible to pulmonary disease, some refused to report to sick call unless their officers insisted. Gullah soldiers fought all the more fiercely because of a particular grievance. Blacks were not recognized as soldiers by Confederates, but as fugitive slaves. Thus black soldiers and their white officers fought "with ropes around our necks." Confederates ordered that, if captured, blacks and their officers would suffer a "felon's death." Gullahs were especially sullen when North and South raised truce flags, saluted each other "courteously," exchanged cigars, and negotiated "usually to send over to the enemy, some family of Rebel women." While showing no disrespect in word or deed, according to Higginson, the blacks hated these women "from the botton of their souls." "Deres no flags ob truce for us," said the Gullahs, contemptuous of such proceedings, "When de Secesh fight de Fus' Souf', he fight in earnest." But Gullahs also fought in earnest. In the words of Sergeant Prince Rivers, former Beaufort slave and coachman, they could, as "men, look our old masters in de face." "Now," he said, "we ain't afraid, if they meet us, to run the bayonet through them."[15]

In their frequent prayer meetings, Gullah soldiers prayed for victory, mixing "the warlike" with "the pious." They spoke of "a religious army," and a "gospel army." According to Higginson they even "evangelized" the chaplin, who previously was "rather heretic." Higginson found that their "faith," "love of freedom and of their families," together with their sense of pride, combined to "make them do their duty." They were confident in the rightness of their cause and that "God would watch over them." Their religious leaders encouragingly assured them that eternity awaited the fallen hero. When the "First South" prepared for an expe-

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dition to Florida, one of the black preacher's exhortations was reportedly "worthy of a place in 'American Oratory.'" He urged the men to seek the post of danger and fight bravely. "He who is de fust man to get on de boat," he rallied, "and de fust to jump on shore, him, if he fall, will be de fust to get in heaben." Then, as if himself in the midst of battle, and aroused by the occasion, he added fervently:

> 'An' when do battle comes—when you see de Kunn'l put his shoulder to de wheel, and hear de shot and shell flying all around like de rain drops, den remember dat ebery one ob dose shot is a bolt of de Almighty God to send dem rebels to deir eberlasting damnation.[16]

Sacrifices for freedom were not only made by Gullah soldiers, for the war effort was a community enterprise. The men's absence from the plantations placed the burden of breadwinning solely on the women, who shouldered it admirably. Gullah men had at first objected to the women working in the fields because this labor had taken such a heavy toll on female health. But women insisted on working "fur pay," and did so "with a will," sometimes working two tasks in one day. Thus, while the men went off to fight or to work as laborers for the army, field work continued. Women, boys, and girls worked side by side, planting, hoeing, picking, sorting, ginning, and packing the cotton. They also raised vegetables and poultry for consumption and to sell. The women were ambitious and disciplined, laboring with "tireless energy" when working for themselves and their families. Sometimes they even managed to attend newly established schools in order to "catch a lesson." As a way of further supporting loved ones away with the regiment and the army, the women wrote letters. Many of the Northern women's "spare time" was spent writing words of love and encouragement dictated by the freedwomen.[17] It was a period of optimism, when social relations knitted over generations proved tenacious and steady. This was also a time when the faith of the bondspeople seemed to bear fruit.

The subject of freedom was often symbolically and thematically expressed in Gullah spirituals. While these "prayer songs" appear to be a portent of the future in a Christian context, they contain ambiguity that implies otherwise. Double meanings and surrogates abounded, and Gullah spirituals could often be interpreted in several ways. For example:

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Jesus make de blind see,
Jesus make de cripple walk,
Jesus make de deaf to hear.
Walk in, kind Jesus!
No man can hinder me.[18]

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When Laura Towne heard this impressive spiritual, she believed the refrain "no man can hinder me" meant that "nothing could prevent access to Jesus." Yet Charles Nordhoff, a journalist sent to Port Royal in 1863 to write about Sea Islanders, heard the song and immediately attributed it to "an aspiration for liberty."[19] Certainly there were elements of truth in both interpretations—a combination of mystical belief in the miraculous powers of the Christian God and a deep, sense of freedom—a heritage from the African past. Higginson heard Gullah soldiers sing the song and noted that they sometimes substituted "hinder me" with "hinder we." But he failed to attach any significance to this, merely stating that it was "more spicy to the ear, and more in keeping with the usual head-over-heels arrangement of their pronouns." Despite the perception and usefulness of Higginson's book, it also contains a disturbing air of condescension toward the Gullahs which was typical of some abolitionists. Although he attested to the Gullahs' daring and coolness in combat, thus affirming their equality with whites in terms of courage, he failed to credit them with having any intellectual complexity in their modes of expression. He recognized Gullah soldiers' physical strength but overlooked aspects of their character which bespoke of higher emotions, unless these could be interpreted in a strictly Christian sense. Hence Higginson viewed the Gullahs' songs as "thoroughly religious," and the attitudes contained in them as "always the same, and, as a commentary on the life of the race, . . . infinitely pathetic. Nothing but patience for this life,—nothing but triumph in the next."[20]

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Gullahs were a proud people who did not indulge in self-pity and would have resented being seen in a piteous light by their friend and supporter. Life for the Gullahs was an uphill battle but not without grace and nobility. Higginson sometimes failed to grasp this, despite his close relationship with Gullah soldiers and their families. One can imagine the thoughts of Gullah soldiers as they sang and contemplated that their treasured expectation was becoming a reality. Substitution of "we" for "me," possibly represented feelings of nationalism which had developed over a period of generations when social and cultural traditions

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they hoped, would encourage obedience, docility, humility, and a "turn-the-other-cheek" attitude. The elders' judgment was important to planters, who realized the influence these leaders exercised. Masters probably depended upon the reasoning power of elders, expecting them to use Christianity as a soothing influence in the slave quarters. Although law forbade black religious gatherings without three slaveholders being present, this edict was grossly violated in the Lowcountry, as probably elsewhere, and black societies were rarely visited by whites supposedly superintending black worship.

Thus, black elders' duties of oversight, direction, watchcare, and advice were extensive. Since they ultimately had the last word on whether or not the "Christian" character of a "seeker" of religion warranted that individual's being accepted into "de Ark ob Safety," the supremacy of these leaders was considerable.[13] Yet black elders undoubtedly used their position of power with measure, fairness, and to benefit of the slave community, for they always maintained respect among the bondspeople. Their message was one of encouragement and their capacity to inspire moral confidence largely depended upon their verbal ability, gravity of deportment, and consistent record of honesty and correctness. As guardians of the community and articulators of group values, they may have counseled patience and been the main proponents of the Christian attitude of "resignation," which observers attributed to some Gullahs, as a form of protection. Above all, black elders were firm about depredations within the slave quarters, watching closely "to detect some delinquency" or "any shortcomings," yet ready to forgive an errant member.

> They visit, pray with and exhort the sick, rebuke the impenitent, counsel the weak, conduct social meetings for prayer, whenever such meetings are permitted by the proprietor of a plantation, and especially have vigilant watch over the young, striving to keep them in the path of rectitude.[14]

The other group of religious leaders, spiritual fathers and mothers, were not white-sanctioned leaders of the Praise House, but among the Gullahs they were recognized as legitimate and reportedly had "the most absolute authority over them." They were a continuous foil to Methodist missionaries and often disliked by planters because these religious leaders successfully incorporated non-Christian elements into white Protestantism. From this group came Praise House leaders and the "committee' that acted as the religious court. Thus on an individual plantation, the

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"help" who held Praise House membership, conducted religious services, and oversaw local religious activity was actually more significant than the black elder who might oversee several plantations. Like the elders, spiritual leaders were loved, respected, and faithful in those things pertaining to the welfare of the religious community. The spiritual leaders' influence belonged to a tradition older than the black elders' role.[17] They undoubtedly adjusted to Christianity by making a place for themselves in the heart of it as practiced by Gullahs. Also Baptist elders, though having the interests of the community at heart, may have imbibed too much of the new religion and been too willing to preach and teach conservatism. Thus for the Gullahs, the power of and respect for plantation spiritual parents exceeded that of Baptist-sanctioned elders. The former were healers, interpreters of dreams, signs, and visions, all of which were central to Gullah conceptions of religion and infused with their impressionistic form of Christianity.[18] The functions of the two types of religious leaders may have overlapped to some degree and also complemented each other. They represent different aspects of the Gullahs' spiritual existence—one Christian, the other African—and an element of syncretism within slave religion.

Examination of Gullah methods of admission to church membership is one key to understanding the significance of the spiritual leader's role, Gullah socioreligious spiritualism, and links with a West African past. A candidate's acceptance into the church and subsequently into the Praise House depended upon relating a satisfactory experience, which was the result of a soul-grappling, traumatic confrontation between the individual and a higher power, culminating, if successful, in a sensation of rebirth and full membership in the religious community. The period of transition between the time a desire to become a Christian was expressed and the acceptance by elders of the religious experience was called "seekin'."

The name, "seekin'" was introduced to the Gullahs by Methodist missionaries. At meetings with slaves, after preaching and teaching, the Methodists would then inquire if anyone would like to come forward and "seek Jesus." Those who professed such a desire would then go "on trial" and remain in this limbo status until the missionary deemed them ready for baptism. Probationers, or "seekers of religion," were required by Methodists to know the Creed, Sacraments, and Lord's Prayer, and they were "not eligible for baptism until they had learned them under-

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17. Littlefield, *Rice and Slaves*, 74–114, Additionally Ian Hancock partly bases his contention of the prevalence of Upper Guinea influence in Gullah dialect on the introduction of creole-speaking slaves brought to South Carolina from this region of Africa. The number of Africans speaking Guinea Coast creole English was small compared to those who spoke no English. Yet the former could have begun the process of spreading creolized English to the latter. Ian F. Hancock, "Gullah and Barbadian—Origins and Relationships." *American Speech* 55 no. 1 (Spring, 1980): 27–30.

18. Richard Jobson, *The Golden Trade or A Discovery of the River Gambia* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1623), 42, 123–25; Francis Moore, *Travels into the Inland Parts of Africa* (London: J. Stagg, 1739), 17–29, 30–32, 38–39, 47–52, 72–73, 80–82, 105–22; Michel Adanson, *A Voyage to Senegal, the Isle of Goree and the River Gambia* (London: J. Nourse and W. Johnston, 1759), 166; Joseph Corry, *Observations Upon the Windward Coast of Africa* (London: Frank Cass 1968; repr. from 1807 ed.), 64–66; David McPherson, *Annals of Commerce*, 4 vols. (London: Johnson Reprint Co., 1972; repr. from 1805 ed.), IV: 141–42; Harry Gailey, Jr., *A History of the Gambia* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 6, 11, 13; Sellers, *Charleston Business*, 143; David P. Gamble, *The Wolof of Senegambia* (London: International African Institute, 1957), 31–37; Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 1–4; Mannix and Cowley, *Black Cargoes, 15–16; SCG*, July 2, 1760, October 11, 1760, August 29, 1761; *South Carolina Gazette and Country Journal*, March 13, 1769, May 8, 1769, June 22, 1769, July 2, 1771, August 13, 1771, December 1, 1772. June 1, 1773, July 18, 1774, January 13, 1785, December 1, 1772.

19. Appendix A; *SCG*, August 19, 1756, June 23, 1756.

20. Donnan, *Documents*, IV: 404 n.; Higgins, "Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves," 31; Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry," 84–86; DuBois, *African Trade*, 90; Schaper, *Sectionalism*, 81–88, 149–62; Sellers, *Charleston Business*, 29–30, 128; Appendix A; Wood, *Black Majority*, 333–41. Higgins states that many slaves, prior to 1775, entered Charleston but were not employed in Carolina. The Sea Island port of Beaufort did some importing as well, although Higgins gives no port-by-port importation breakdown. He believes the "majority of all Negroes in the United States today are descended from blacks brought to North America during the colonial period." This has even stronger implications for the spread of cultural influences by ethnic groups of the middle period of the trade. Higgins, "Geographical Origins of Negro Slaves," 39, 46–47.

21. Rodney, *History of Upper Guinea*, 3–15, 233.

22. Moore, *Travels*, 29–35, 40–51; Jobson, *Golden Trade*, 27–37; Adanson, *Voyage to Senegal*, 57–59; Smith, *Voyage to Guinea*, 32; Rodney, *History of Upper Guinea*, 117; Charlotte Quinn, *Mandingo Kingdoms of the Senegambia* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1972), 1–54; Gailey, *History of Gambia*, 10–17; Henry Fenwick Reeve, *The Gambia: Its History, Ancient, Medieval and Modern* (London: Smith, Elder, 1972), 12, 73, 78–79, 171–79, 180–81, 198–203; Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*, 156–67.

23. Rodney, *History of Upper Guinea*, 112–15, 116–17; Moore, *Travels*, 41–44; Reeve, *Gambia, Ancient Medieval, Modern*, 171–78.

24. Moore, *Travels*, 42–43.

25. Douglas Grant, *The Fortunate Slave* (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), Chapter 4, 156–67; Moore, *Travels*, 205–8; Rodney, *History of Upper Guinea*, 116–17. Curtin, *Atlantic Slave Trade*. For another example of a black nobleman being sold into slavery see Terry Alford, *Prince Among Slaves* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986; repr. from 1977 ed.).

26. Rodney, *History of Upper Guinea*, 111–17, 236–39.

27. John Matthews, *A Voyage to the River Sierra Leone* (London: Frank Cass, 1966; repr.

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ligion in Africa (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1969), 39–41, 83–86; Little, *Mende*, 2, 217–18; W. T. Harris and Harry Sawyerr, *The Springs of Mende Belief and Conduct: A Discussion of the Influence of the Belief in the Supernatural Among the Mende* (Freetown: Sierra Leone University Press, 1968), 2–13, 119–20; Parsons, *Religion in an African Society*, 22–24, 163–69; Folkways Research Series, *Traditional History of Folklore of the Glebo Tribe*, 2 vols. (Monrovia: Dept. of Interior, 1955 and 1961) II: 83, 123, and *Tribes of the Western Province*, 18, 21, 25, 27; William Bosman, *A New and Accurate Description of the Coast of Guinea*, trans. John Ralph Willis (Holland, 1704; 4th English ed., New York: Barnes and Noble, 1967), 156; Harry Gailey, Jr., *A History of the Gambia* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1965), 6–7; Gamble, Wolof, 39; Thomas Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighborhood of Sierra Leone*, 2 vols., (London: Frank Cass, 1969; repr. from 1803 ed.), I: 222, 226; Joseph Corry, *Observations Upon the Windward Coast of Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1968, repr. from 1807 ed.), 60–61; Karl Laman, *Kongo*, 5 vols. (Uppsala: Studia Ethnographica Upsaliensia, 1962) III: 1–2, 53–63; Georges Balandier, *Daily Life in the Kingdom of the Kongo, from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*, trans. Helen Weaver (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968), 244–45; W. C. Willoughby, *The Soul of the Bantu: A Sympathetic Study of the Magico-Religious Practices and Beliefs of the Bantu Tribes of Africa* (Westport, Conn.: Negro Universities Press, 1970, originally published 1928), 72–76; John S. Mbiti, *African Religions and Philosophies* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1939), 4–5, 28–38, 159–62; Willie Abraham, *The Mind of Africa* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 52–56; Beryl L. Bellman, *Village of Curers and Assassins; on the Production of Fala Kpelle Cosmological Categories* (The Hague and Paris: Mouton, 1975), 129–30; see also John S. Mbiti, *Concepts of God in Africa* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1970). This author's approach seems more theological than anthropological or historical. African concepts of God are placed in Christian theological terms rather than discussed and interpreted in their own contextual environments. An older study is Edwin Smith, ed., *African Ideas of God* (London: Edinburgh House Press, 1950). It provides the best information on concepts of God among various African peoples.

14. Jahn, *Muntu*, 109–14; Parsons, *Religion in an African Society*, 167–69, 181; Sibley and Westermann, *Liberia*, 194–96; Little, *Mende*, 218–221; Harris and Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, 14–18, 30–33; Abraham, *Mind of Africa*, 63–64; Mbiti, *African Religions*, 6–7; John M. Janzen and Wyatt MacGaffey, *An Anthology of Kongo Religion: Primary Texts from Lower Zaire* (Lawrence, Kans.: University of Kansas Publications in Anthropology, No. 5, 1974), 34; Robert Farris Thompson and Joseph Cornet, *The Four Moments of the Sun: Kongo Art in Two Worlds* (Washington, D. C.: National Gallery of Art, 1981), 27–28, 42–47, 134, n. 50, and passim; Robert Farris Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 103–58; Balandier, *Daily Life in Kongo*, 245–49.

15. Parrinder, *Religion in Africa*, 26; Mbiti, *African Religions*, 159–62; Harris and Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, 88–90; Sibley and Westermann, *Liberia*, 199; Folkways Research Series, *Tribes of the Western Province*, 18, 27, 29; Rattray, *Religion in Ashanti*, 153; Abraham, *Mind of Africa*, 59–60; Danquah, *Akan Doctrine of God*, 153–64.

16. Laman, *Kongo*, III: 1–6, 216–18; Thompson and Cornet, *Four Moments of the Sun*, 43.

17. Willoughby, *Soul of Bantu*, 76–82; Parsons, *Religion in an African Society*, 26–27, 75–76; Harris & Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, 14–18; Rattray, *Religion in Ashanti*, 216; Abraham, *Mind of Africa*, 63–64; Opoku, *West African Religion*, 35–39; Mbiti, *African Religions*, 11–12, Amponsah, *Topics on African Traditional Religion*, 85–91.

18. Igor Kopytoff, "The Suku of Southwestern Congo," in James L. Gibbs Jr., ed.,

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Peoples of Africa (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), 450–52, 458; Wyatt MacGaffey, *Custom and Government in the Lower Kongo* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 84; Laman, *Kongo* II: 130–31; Balandier, *Daily Life in Kongo*, 246–47.

19. Laman, *Kongo*, II: 22–23; Balandier, *Daily Life in Kongo*, 217–20, 246–57; Willoughby, *Soul of Bantu*, 71, 77–82, 315; Weeks, *Among the BaKongo*, 158–71.

20. Weeks, *Among the BaKongo*, 266–68, 278; Laman, *Kongo*, II: 92; MacGaffey, *Custom in Lower Kongo*, 148–50; Willoughby, *Soul of Bantu*, 86; Opoku, *West African Religion*, 36–39; Amponsah, *Topics on African Traditional Religion*, 86; Harris and Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, 30–33; Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1958; repr. from 1941 ed.), 206; Roger Bastide, *African Civilizations in the New World*, trans. Peter Green (New York: Harper & Row, 1971), 106, 161; Thompson and Cornet, *Four Moments of the Sun*, 181–203; Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit*, 132–58; John M. Vlach, *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts* (Cleveland, Ohio: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978), 139–47; Elizabeth A. Fenn, "Honoring the Ancestors; Kongo-American Graves in the American South," *Southern Exposure* 28 (September–October, 1985): 42–57; "Notes and Documents; Antebellum and War Memories of Mrs. Telfair Hodgson," Sarah Hodgson Torian, ed., *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (December, 1953): 352; Albert H. Stoddard, "Origin, Dialect, Beliefs and Characteristics of the Negroes of the South Carolina and Georgia Coasts," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 28 (September, 1944): 181–93; Irving E. Lowrey, *Life on the Old Plantation* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1911), 81–86; South Carolina Folklore Project, #1655, D-4-27A, WPA, SCL: Folk-Lore Scrap-Book, "Mortuary Customs and Beliefs of South Carolina Negroes," from an article originally published in the *Atlanta Constitution* by May A. Waring, *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 7 (1894): 318–19.

21. Opoku, *West African Religion*, 147–51; Amponsah, *Topics on African Traditional Religion*, 80–84; Parsons, *Religion in an African Society*, 50–55, 71–72, 186; Harris and Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, Chapter 4; Sibley and Westermann, *Liberia*, 211–213; Balandier, *Daily Life in Kongo*, 248–50; Laman, *Kongo* III: 81–104; Weeks, *Among the BaKongo*, 214–20, 232–35; Willoughby, *Soul of Bantu*, 192–95; Thompson and Cornet, *Four Moments of the Sun*, 37; Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit*, 106–7, 117–19; E. J. Glave, "Fetishism in Congo Land," *Century* 41 (November–April, 1890–91): 825–26.

22. Parsons, *Religion in an African Society*, 50–55, 71–72, 186; Harris and Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, Chapter 4; Sibley and Westermann, *Liberia*, 211–13; Laman, *Kongo*, III: 57, 81–104, 157–59; Weeks, *Among the BaKongo*, 231–36; Thompson and Cornet, *Four Moments of the Sun*, 110–14; Thompson, *Flash of the Spirit*, 106–7, 117–21; Janzen and MacGaffey, *Kongo Religion*, 34–35; Mbiti, *African Religions*, 169, Chapters 15–16.

23. Sibley and Westermann, *Liberia*, 213–14; Harris and Sawyerr, *Mende Belief*, 54–59; Rattray, *Religion in Ashanti*, 148–49; Mbiti, *African Religions*, 168–171, Chapters 15–16; Thompson and Cornet, *Four Moments of the Sun*, 37; Janzen and MacGaffey, *Kongo Religion*, 34–35; Laman, *Kongo*, III: 81–105.

24. Mbiti, *African Religions*, 166–67, Rattray, *Religion in Ashanti*, 38–39; Parsons, *Religion in an African Society*, 71–72; Sibley and Westermann, *Liberia*, 211; Folkways Research Series, *History of Gola Tribe*, II: 22–23; Glave, "Fetishism in Congo Land," 828–29; Weeks, *Among the BaKongo*, 214–18; Thompson and Cornet, *Four Moments of the Sun*, 37, 110–14; Laman, *Kongo*, II: 130–32.

25. *SCA*, June 26, 1840, June 26, 1843, October 30, 1847; *Minutes*; *Beaufort Baptist Church*, "Origin of the Colored Societies," October 7, 1859, Business Meeting in which organization of societies was discussed, 271–72, January 7, 1842 and November 1, 1840, 12, BC; *SCA*, Diary of Laura M. Towne, 52, 162, Penn School Papers, SHC; John L. Field to George W. Moore, March 21, 1833, HSSCC.

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175 569 112 [669] ancy between the number of runaways in Virginia and South Carolina, he notes the presence of more African-born slaves among the captive runaway population in South Carolina. Thus the numbers of Africans in Carolina's slave population clearly accounts for some of the difference between the two colonies.

4. *SCG*, September 8 to September 15, 1759, October 23, 1751, November 25, 1751, May 28 to June 4, 1754, June 16, 1758.

175 569 113 5. Ibid., September 14 to September 21, 1747, June 25 to July 2, 1750; Eugene D. Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 69; Jill M. Watts, " 'We Do Not Live for Ourselves Only': Seminole Black Perceptions and the Second Seminole War," *UCLA Historical Journal* 7 (1986): 5–7; Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York: International Publishers, 1967; repr. from 1943 ed.), 197–98; Philip D. Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry, 1760–1810," in Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983), 92, 118.

6. *SCG*, March 4, 1756, April 29, 1754; Colonial Records of South Carolina, *Journal of the Commons House of Assembly, 1739–1741*, 230, 505; Watts, " 'We Do Not Live For Ourselves Only'," 6–7.

7. Michael P. Johnson, "Runaway Slaves and the Slave Communities in South Carolina, 1799–1820," *William and Mary Quarterly* 38, no. 3 (July, 1981): 3, 418, 433–36, 441. Although Professor Johnson is dealing with a later period, his research is applicable for the eighteenth century; *SCG*, March 17, 1724, April 21, 1759.

175 113 8. *SCG*, September 17, 1772. This view of slavery in the Lowcountry, in terms of its harshness, is different from that of Philip Morgan. He cites, for example, the transition from a period of negative to one of positive increase, as an important indicator of less harsh conditions and more black autonomy. Yet Morgan's table on natural increase shows an annual rate of only 1.9 percent as the highest, from 1770–75. This rate of increase appears far too negligible to tell us much about better contitions. Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry," 83–89.

9. *SCG*, September 17, 1772. For other manifestations of black assertion in urban Charleston see Peter H. Wood, " 'Taking Care of Business' in Revolutionary South Carolina: Republicanism and the Slave Society," in Jeffrey J. Crow and Larry E. Tise, eds., *The Southern Experience in the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 268–93.

10. James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983), 4–34. For paternalistic arguments, see Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan Roll, the World the Slaves Made* (New York: Panthaon Books, 1974), xiv–xvii, 3–149, 280–84; also for a more measured discussion of paternalism, see Charles Joyner, *Down By the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 56, 231–32.

11. Benjamin Quarles, *The Negro in the American Revolution* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1973; first pub. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: 1961), Preface; Ira Berlin, "The Revolution in Black Life" in Alfred F. Young, ed. *The American Revolution: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (De Kalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976), 351–52; J. Madison, Jr. to William Bradford, November 26, 1774 and July 10, 1775, William Bradford Collection, HSP; Wood; " 'Taking Care of Business'," 283–87; and his " 'Impatient of Oppression'; Black Freedom Struggles on the Eve of White Independence," *Southern Exposure* 28 (October, 1985): 606, 612–13.

● 17 113 12. Walter Brooks, "The Priority of the Silver Bluff Church and its Promoters," *Journal*

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of Negro History 7 (April, 1922): 176–77; Ellen Gibson Wilson, *The Loyal Blacks* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons), 22–26, 41–57; James W. St. G. Walker, *The Black Loyalists: The Search for a Promised Land in Nova Scotia and Sierra Leone, 1783–1870* (New York: Delhousie University Press, 1976), 1–5, 10–12; Watts, " 'We Do Not Live For Ourselves Only'," 6–7, 12–13; Quarles, *Negro in the American Revolution*, 19–26, 113–14; Kenneth Coleman, *The American Revolution in Georgia, 1763–1789* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1958), 121–29, 130–31, 144; *Papers of the Continental Congress*, Inspection Rolls of Negroes, Book I, April 23–September 13, 1783, Book II, September 22–November 19, 1783, passim. The name "Mellia Marrant" and her two children, listed as slaves of John Marrant, raises the question of whether these were the slaves of Whitefield convert John Marrant. Marrant was born in New York and there is no reason to believe that the family (apparently free) took the surname of a white South Carolinian. Mellia Marrant may be the sister or wife of John who was impressed into the British navy during the war and eventually went to England. His services to the British would enable his family to be given a certificate of freedom, and he related in his narrative that he had family in Nova Scotia. See William Aldridge, ed., *A Narrative of the Lord's Wonderful Dealings with John Marrant, A Black*, 4th ed. (London: Gilbert and Plummer, 1785).

13. Herbert G. Gutman, *The Black Family in Slavery and Freedom, 1750–1925* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1976), 325. For a view which argues that South Carolina blacks did not "take advantage of their owners' predicament during the Revolution." see Michael Mullin, "British Caribbean and North American Slaves in an Era of War and Revolution, 1775–1807," in Crow and Tise, *Southern Experience*, 235–36; this interpretation is also presented in Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry," 108–9. For a discussion of the Afro-American family during the War for Independence, see Mary Beth Norton et al., "The Afro-American Family in the Age of Revolution," in Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of the American Revolution* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983), 157–91. For a discussion of structural manifestations of autonomy in black life during the postwar period, see Berlin, "The Revolution in Black Life," 363–71.

14. Quarles, *Negro in The American Revolution*, 171–72; "Memoirs of the Life of Boston King, a Black Preacher," *London Methodist Magazine*, 21 (1798–99) 105–110, 157–61, hereafter referred to as "Boston King Memoirs"; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks* 13, 30–31; Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 5, 7.

15. "Boston King Memoirs"; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 31–34, 56–66.

16. "Boston King Memoirs"; Aldridge, *Marrant Narrative*; Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 10–12; Quarles, *Negro in the American Revolution*, 156–57, 163–65, 171–77.

17. Ira Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1974), 16–21 and "Revolution in Black Life, 355; Oakes, *Ruling Race*, 28–29; Quarles, *Negro in the American Revolution*, 61, 102–04, 124–26, 163–66, 171–77; Philip S. Foner, *Blacks in the American Revolution* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975), 46; David Ramsey to Benjamin Rush, June 20, 1779, March 21, 1780, Rush Correspondence, Ramsey Letters, HSP; Wood, *Black Majority*, 124–30; Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 6–10; Quoted from Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 31, 41–47. For works on black participation in the War for Independence, see Sidney Kaplan, *The Black Presence in the Era of the American Revolution, 1770–1800* (New York: New York Graphic Society, 1973); Graham R. Hodges, "Black Revolt in New York City and the Neutral Zone, 1775–1783." Unpublished paper presented at the New-York Historical Society Conference on the Constitutional Era in New York, May 15, 1987.

18. Berlin, *Slaves Without Masters*, 30–31, 35–41; Lofton, *Vary's Revolt*, 38–43, 51–55, 59–64; Richard Wade, *Slavery in the Cities* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 29–

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30; William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 9–10, 18–19; Guion G. Johnson, *A Social History of the Sea Islands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930), 24–29, 50–54, Wikramanayake, *World in Shadow*, 117–18, 121–22; John Phillips, *An Appeal to Matters of Fact and Common Sense, Recommended to the Serious Consideration of the Inhabitants of Charleston, South Carolina* (New York: T. Kirk, 1798), passim; Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry." Although Morgan does not see much black participation during the War for Independence (a point on which we disagree), he does note the postwar impact on the Lowcountry in terms of an increased sense of autonomy among blacks which was manifested in a number of ways. See especially 108–41.

19. Lofton, *Very's Revolt*, 47–51; J. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1957 repr. from 1782 ed.), 155–161; Johann Schöepf, *Travels in the Confederation, 1783–84*, trans. Alfred Morrison (Philadelphia: W. J. Campbell, 1911), 220–221; Phillips, *Appeal to Inhabitants of Charleston*, 29, Avonor Samuel to William Tilghman, December 30, 1785, William Tilghman Papers, HSP; Benjamin Rush Medical Notes, July 12, 1803, Rush Corr. v. 2: 64, HSP.

20. Major Pierce Butler to Mrs. Izard, February 25, 1797, Butler to John Hoom, January 6, 1803, Butler to John Cooper, February 15, 1818 and March 7, 1818, Wistar Papers, Butler Section, box 31, fol. 7, HSP; Roswell King to Pierce Butler, September 20, 1835, box 33, fol. 5, Pierce Butler to Mr. Taylor, March 28, 1840, Letterbook, 1838–1840, 53–55, and notation of sale of Butler slaves, February 21, 1859, box 41, fol. 5, Wistar Papers, Butler Section, HSP; Frances Ann Kemble, *Journal of a Residence on a Georgian Plantation*, ed. John A. Scott (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970; New York: Harper & Brothers, 1863), 94, 176, 203, 128, 265–66, 273–74.

21. Aptheker, *Slave Revolts*, 207–08; Watts, " 'We Do Not Live for Ourselves Only'," 6–8; Letter of John De Brahm, August 28, 1787, Cox-Parrish Wharton Coll., vol. 4, HSP; Pierce Butler letter, July 4, 1789, Wistar Papers, Butler Section, box 31, fol. 1, HSP; Major Pierce Butler to R. Izard, September 8, 1789, SCL; the full account of the expeditions in Morgan, "Black Society in the Lowcountry," 139.

22. Gerald Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion; Slave Revolts in Eighteenth Century Virginia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 140–161; Aptheker, *Slave Revolts*, 217–18, 241; Samuel G. Stoney, ed., "The Autobiography of William John Grayson" *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 49, no. 1 (January, 1948): 29–30; Theodore Rosengarten, *Tombee, Portrait of a Cotton Planter, Journal of Thomas B. Chaplin, 1812–1890* (New York: William Morrow 1986), 118; Carroll, *Slave Insurrections*, 64–67; Harding, *There Is a River*, 62–63.

23. Although white Loyalists were never really compensated for their losses in bondspeople during the War for Independence, Americans fared better after the War of 1812. The dispute over losses in slave property raged on after the Treaty of Ghent in 1814. But in 1822, with the Czar of Russia as arbitrator, the dispute was decided in favor of the United States. Britain agreed to pay $1,204,960 for 3,601 slaves, only half of the value claimed by American slave owners. Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 56–57; Quarles, *Negro in the American Revolution*, 171–72; Harding, *There Is a River*, 62–63; Aptheker, *Slave Revolts*, 91; November 17, 1862, John Forsyth Mss., SCL.

24. Letter of Rachel Blanding, July 4, 1816, William Blanding Mss., SCL.

25. Ibid.; Trial of Negroes for Insurrection, July 3–17, 1816, Kershaw County Manscripts, SCL.

26. Quoted in Aptheker, *Slave Revolts*, 258–59; Trial of Negroes, SCL; Blanding Letter, July 25, 1816, SCL.

27. Letter of Rachel Blanding, December 2, 1808, July 25, 1813, SCL.

28. Lofton, *Very's Revolt*, 118.

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29. Ibid., 113–30.

30. "Historical Sketch of the Euhaw Baptist Church," submitted for private reading by church officers, 1928, Euhaw Baptist Church Mss., SCL; David Benedict, *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America and Other Parts of the World* (New York: Lewis Colby, 1848; repr. from 1813 ed.) 701–3; James W. Busch, "The Beaufort Baptist Church," Beaufort County Historical Society Paper, n.d., 4–5, Beaufort Township Library; John Archibald Armstrong, "Beaufort and the Sea Islands, Their History and Traditions," compiled from newspaper articles in the *Beaufort Republican*, 1867–1873, Beaufort Township Library; Joe Madison King, *A History of South Carolina Baptists* (Columbia: General Board, South Carolina Baptist Convention, 1964), 10–17, 26–38; quoted from James H. Cuthbert, *Life of Richard Fuller*, (New York: Scheldon Co., 1789), 12–13.

31. Lawton Family Papers, SCL: Charlotte Verstille to Nancy Verstille, February 9 and March 2, 1821, Tristram Verstille Papers, SCL: Chalmers D. Davidson, *The Last Foray: The South Carolina Plantations in 1860: A Sociological Study* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1975), 96–99; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 6; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 92–96, 146–47; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 13, 15, 78–79.

32. Brooks, "Silver Bluff Church," 172–82; "Early Negro Churches," 70–71; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 12–13; Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 139. In the Peedee region, the Welsh Neck Church, formed in 1738, was a large congregation whose extensive black membership was organized into a separate church in 1779. This was a short-lived experiment, ending in 1782. At that time, some whites and a "greater number of blacks" were excommunicated by a new minister who discovered that upon examination, the blacks especially "appeared to be very ignorant of the nature of true religion." King, *South Carolina Baptists*, 39–44.

33. Brooks, "Silver Bluff Church," 174–76, 178, 182, 191; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 29–31.

34. Mrs. J. H. Redding, *Life and Times of Jonathan Bryan 1708–1788* (Savannah: Morning News Print, 1901), 43; "Early Negro Churches," 77–79; Brooks, "Silver Bluff Church," 186–87; John Rippon, ed., *Baptist Annual Register for 1798–1801* (London: Dilly, Button, Thomas, 1802), 366–67; Raboteau, *Slave Religion*. Andrew's church spawned two sister churches in Savannah by the early nineteenth century.

35. Brooks, "Silver Bluff Church," 181–190; "Early Negro Churches," 83–87; Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 11.

36. Wilson, *Loyal Blacks*, 10–12, 29–31; Walker, *Black Loyalists*, 4–5; Kathleen Tudor, "David George: Black Loyalist," *Nova Scotia Historical Society* 3, no. 1 (1983): 71–75.

37. Donald Blake Touchstone, "Planters and Slave Religion in the Deep South," (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1973), 9–14; Redding, *Jonathan Bryan*, 44–45.

38. Quarles, *Negro in the American Revolution*, 135–40, 44–45; Matthew Tate to Benjamin Rush, October 1, 1792, Benjamin Rush Correspondence, vol. 7: 6, HSP.

39. Diary of John Bartram, 78–79, John Bartram Papers, HSP.

40. U.S. Census Office, *First Census, 1790* (Philadelphia: Childs and Swaine, 1791), 54; "Diary of Timothy Ford," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 45 (1944): 142–45.

41. Abigail Capers to Eliza Russell, March 25, 1971; James McBride Dabbs Papers, SHC.

42. John Bartram Diary, July 1, 1765–April 10, 1766, John Bartram Papers, HSP; Johnson, *Social History*, 18–26, 115–118; Armstrong, "Sea Islands History," 30; Euhaw Baptist Church Mss., March 14, 1834, SCL; Charlotte Verstille to Nancy Verstille, March 2, 1821, Tristram Verstille Papers, SCL.

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43. Richard Furman to Roger Williams, September 10, 1800, Richard Furman Papers, SCL.

44. Charlotte Verstille to Nancy Verstille, February 9 and March 2, 1821, Tristram Verstille Papers, SCL.

45. Charles C. Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the United States* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969; repr. from 1842 ed.), 57, 60–61; Reverend Dr. Richard Furman, *Exposition of the Views of the Baptists, Relative to the Coloured Population in the United States, in A Communication to the Governor of South Carolina* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1823), 15; Rules and Regulations of the Coloured Ministers, Elders and Members of Baptist Church in Charleston, SCL; Edmund Botsford to Richard Furman, March 10, October 12, 1796, October 15, 1808, Edmund Botsford Letters, BC.

46. Arnold Dallimore, *George Whitefield, Life and Times of the Great Evangelist of the Eighteenth Century Revival*, 2 vols. (Gildford and London: Billing and Sons, 1970), II: 438; Rev. A. M. Chreitzberg, *Early Methodism in the Carolinas* (Nashville: Barbee and Smith, 1897), 32–34; Donald Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism, A Chapter in American Morality 1780–1845* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 3–6; Frederick A. Norwood, *The Story of American Methodism: A History of the United Methodists and Their Relations* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1974), 59–60, 75; Albert Deems Betts, *History of South Carolina Methodism* (Columbia: Advocate Press, 1952), 192; F. A. Mood, *Methodism in Charleston* (Nashville: E. Stevenson and J. E. Evans, 1856), 23–24, 40, 48, 71, 128.

47. *Journal of the Rev. Francis Asbury, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, 3 vols. (New York: N. Bangs and T. Mason, 1821), I: 381–82; Chreitzberg, *Early Methodism*, 39–43; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 7–9.

48. Phillips, *Appeal to Inhabitants of Charleston*, 22–23; Mood, *Methodism in Charleston* 71, 128; Asbury, *Journals*, II: 28–29.

49. Asbury, *Journals*, II: 241.

50. Norwood, *American Methodism*, 88–93; Albert M. Shipp, *History of Methodism in South Carolina* (Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House, 1884), 467–71; "Christmas Agreement," January 2, 1795, HSSCC; James Jenkins, *Experience, Labours and Sufferings of Reverend J. Jenkins of the South Carolina Conference*, printed for the author in 1842, copy found at HSSCC; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 10–21; H. Shelton Smith, *In His Image, But . . . Racism in Southern Religion, 1780–1910* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972), 38–43.

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51. William Hammett Journal, entries for August 26, 1794, January 15, 1795, February 8, 1795, and February 15, 1795, Wm. Hammett Ms., SCL.

52. Ibid., January 15, 1795.

53. Smith, *In His Image, But*, 129–35.

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54. Hammett Journal, entries for January 15, 1795, February 8, 1795, February 15, 1795, SCL; Phillips, *Appeal of Inhabitants of Charleston*, 10–11, 15, 17, 21–22, 29.

55. Chreitzberg, *Early Methodism*, 78, 126; James O. Andrew, "On Methodism in Charleston," *MMQR* 12 (1830): 20–28; A. M. Travis, *Autobiography of the Reverend Joseph M. Travis*, (Nashville: E. Stevenson and F. A. Owens), 1855, 86–87; Mathews, *Slavery and Methodism*, 21–26.

56. William M. Wightman, *Life of William Capers, Including an Autobiography* (Nashville: J. B. McFerrin, 1858), 136–37; Andrew, "Methodism in Charleston," 18–20; Shipp, *Methodism in South Carolina*, 167; Betts, *South Carolina Methodism*, 55–57.

57. Betts, *South Carolina Methodism*, 223–24; Carol George, *Segregated Sabbaths, Richard Allen and the Emergence of Independent Black Churches, 1760–1840* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 14–18, 29–32; Asbury, *Journals*, III: 22–23, 128.

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American Revolution (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1983), 118–20. See also Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*, 371–74, 386–88.

39. Towne Diary, 10; Edward Philbrick to Dr. L. B. Russell, June 15, 1863, Edward Atkinson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (New York: Collier Books, 1962, repr. from 1870 ed.), 210–211; *SCA*, August 11, 1843.

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40. Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1769 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974); Johann Schöepf, *Travels in the Confederation, 1783–84*, trans. Alfred Morrison (Philadelphia: W. J. Campbell, 1911), 220–21.

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41. Lucius Gaston Moffatt and Joseph Médard Carrière, "A Frenchman Visits Charleston, 1817," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 49, no. 2 (April, 1948): 141; Johnson, *Social History*, 22–29; Mikell, *Chariot Wheels*, 19–20; R. F. W. Allston, "Sea Coast Crops of the South," *Debow's Review*, XVI (January–June, 1854): 596–98; William Elliot, "On Cultivation of Sea Island Cotton," *Southern Agriculturalist* I (April, 1828): 154; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 70, 72; Crum, *Gullah*, 233–34, U. B. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966, repr. from 1918 ed.), 153–54, 223–25. Philip Morgan takes a different view. He argues that Sea Island cotton cultivation resulted in less arduous slave labor and that the task system augmented black independence and autonomy. See his "Ownership of Property by Slaves in the Mid-Nineteenth-Century Low Country," *Journal of Southern History*, no. 3 (August, 1983): 399–405, and "Black Society in the Low Country," 106–7, 120–21.

42. Mikell, *Chariot Wheels*, 19–20; Allston, "Sea Coast Crops of the South," 596–98; Fripp Diary, passim; J. A. Turner, ed., *The Cotton Planter's Manual* (New York: Negro Universities Press, repr. from 1867 ed.) 135–36; Elliott, "Sea Island Cotton," 154; Thomas Lagare, "Preparation of Sea Island Cotton," *Southern Agriculturalist* II, ser. 2 (December, 1842): 626–27; R. King to P. Butler, October 31, 1824, December 5, 1824, box 33, folder 1, and March 1, 1835, box 33, fol. 5, Wistar Papers, Butler Section, HSP; Whitemarsh B. Seabrook, "A Memoir on the Origin, Cultivation and Uses of Cotton," *Proceedings of the Agricultural Convention and State Agricultural Society of South Carolina* (Charleston: Miller & Browne, 1844), 30; Diary of William F. Allen, 82–83 in William F. Allen Family Papers, 1775–1937, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 71–73.

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43. Fripp Diary, passim; Towne Diary, 10, 20, 24, 32–33; R. King to P. Butler, Oct. 19, 24, and 31, 1824, box 33, fol. 1, Wistar Papers, Butler Section, HSP; Kemble, *Journal*, 174–75, 182–83, 189–92, 226–27, 233, 251, 263–64; King, Jr., "Management of Butler Estate," 3–4; Seabrook, "Memoir on Cotton," 30–31; Johnson, *Social History*; Elizabeth Ware Pearson, *Letters From Port Royal* (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, repr., 1969, repr. from 1906 ed.), 13, 31, 114; Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*; The Port Royal Experiment (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), 126–27.

44. Allen Diary, 136, 91; Towne Diary, 33.

45. Kemble, *Journal*, 120–21, 182–83, 189–205, 214, 226–27, 233, 263.

46. Ibid., 135–36, 79–80.

47. Coffin Point Records Overseer report for 1818, SCHS; Fripp Diary, passim; Crum, *Gullah*, 244–45; Wightman, *Life of Capers*, 291; Pinckney, *Address*, 23–24 (Appendix); Johnson, *Social History*, 28–29, 106; W. E. B. DuBois, *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade to the United States of America, 1638–1870* (New York: Schocken Books, 1969; repr. from 1896 ed.), 180–86; James H. Cuthbert, *Life of Richard Fuller* (New York: Sheldon Co., 1878), 198; Federal Writers Program, Georgia, *Drums and Shadows* (Westport, Conn.:

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Greenwood Press, 1973; repr. of 1940 ed.), xviii–xix. Civil War missionaries reported seeing Africans in the Sea Islands. Towne Diary, 12, reads: "I saw at church from Gabriel Eddings plantation a woman brought from Africa. Her face was tatooed. She seemed of a more vigorous stock"; Harriett Ware, related an account of her meeting a black steward from the *Wabash* in Port Royal. He had just returned from Africa where a slave ship *Ariel* and its slave-pirate were taken. "He gave us a most interesting account of the whole affair, as he went on board with the Captain when he ordered the hatches to be opened and the nine hundred blacks were discovered." Pearson, *Port Royal*, 225.

48. *SCA*, May 1, 1840; Lorenzo D. Turner, *Africanisms in the Gullah Dialect* (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1969; repr. from 1949 ed.), 5, 151; Arthur Sumner to Nina Hartshorn, May 18, 1862, Penn School Papers, v. 4, SHC; David Thorpe to John Mooney, January 25, 1863, Dabbs Papers, Thorpe Series, SHC.

49. Allen Diary, passim and 139.

50. *CAJ*, January 31, 1834; Federal Writers Program, *Drums and Shadows*, Chapter 6; ield to Moore, March 21, 1833, HSSCC.

51. *CAJ*, January 31, 1834, November 20, 1835, January 22, 1836.

52. *CAJ*, July 22, 1836.

53. Ibid., June 26, 1835; *SCA*, June 26, 1840, June 26, 1843.

54. *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 48–49.

55. *SCA*, June 26, 1840; *CAJ*, July 17, 1835.

56. John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972 ed.), 72; Crum, *Gullah*, 189; Kemble, *Journal*, 58; *CAJ*, February 7, 1834, April 25, 1834, September 25, 1835, July 22, 1836; *SCA*, May 24, 1839, June 30, 1843, September 29, 1843.

57. William Capers, *A Catechism for the Use of the Methodist Mission* (Charleston: J. S. Burges, 1833), passim; *SCA*, January 31, 1851.

58. Andrew, "Slave Population," 317–18; "Report of the Missionary Society," *Minutes of South Carolina Conference*, February 10, 1836, 20, HSSCC; *SCA*, January 26, 1838, June 30, 1843; Charles C. Jones, *Suggestions on the Religious Instruction of the Negroes in the Southern States* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1847), 14; Wightman, *Life of Capers*, 295–96. Quoted in John Spencer Bassett, *The Southern Plantation Overseer, as Revealed in His Letters* (Northhampton, Mass: Smith College, 1925), 14–15.

59. John Bunch to Missionary Society, South Carolina Conference, January 11, 1835, HSSCC; Pinckney to Capers, January 24, 1835, HSSCC; *CAJ*, April 10, 1833, September 9, 1833, January 24, 1835, June 26, 1835, July 22, 1836; *SCA*, December 22, 1843, February 23, 1847; Wightman, *Life of Capers*, 298–99.

60. Bunch to Missionary Society, January 11, 1835, HSSCC; *CAJ*, February 7, 1834, June 13, 1834, October 17, 1834, June 26, 1835; *SCA*, April 8, 1842, January 29, 1847, May 6, 1848, March 28, 1851; Crum, *Gullah*, 218.

61. *SCA*, July 7, 1843.

62. Ibid.

63. *SCA*, July 14, 1843, September 15, 1843, September 29, 1843, August 13, 1847, May 18, 1849, September 6, 1850, May 25, 1855.

64. John McKim to Mrs. Wendell Garrison, April 20, 1864. Antislavery Papers, Rare Book Room, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. The most well-known individual who argues that Gullah music came from Methodist hymns is Guy B. Johnson, *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930), ix–xi, 6–8, 74–84; Albert Deems Betts, *History of South Carolina Methodism* (Columbia: Advocate Press, 1952), 159–68. Betts provides a history of the camp meetings in South Carolina and lists

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the known campgrounds by name, location, and dates of their existence. Crum, *Gullah*, 151. According to Crum, W. A. Massebeau in *Camp Meetings in South Carolina* (1919) records the names of 50 campgrounds. Of these, only one, Black Swamp, is south of Charleston. Black Swamp was in the Beaufort District and is close to Savannah. The area experienced its religious revival in the 1830s; Capers, *Catechism*, 14–16; *SCA*, June 30, 1843, July 14, 1843, December 29, 1843, January 12, 1849; John McKim to Mrs. Wendell Garrison, April 20, 1864, W. Athorp to Mrs. Wendell P. Garrison, April 20, 1867 Antislavery Papers; Allen Diary, 18–19, 127–28, 164; Nicholas George Julius Ballanta, *St. Helena Spirituals* (New York: G. Schirmer Press, 1925), Introduction and Foreword; Higginson, *Army Life*, 187–88; Crum, *Gullah*, 132–34.

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65. *SCA*, December 29, 1843.

66. *CAJ*, August 18, 1837.

67. Higginson, *Army Life*, 71–72.

68. *CAJ*, January 31, 1834; *SCA*, June 26, 1840; Archie Epps, "A Negro Separatist Movement in the Nineteenth Century," *The Harvard Law Review* 4, no. 1 (Summer–Fall, 1966): 69–80; *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 48–49; Fripp Diary, 60.

69. *CAJ*, September 7, 1833, November 7, 1834; *SCA*, September 15, 1843, September 6, 1850; Thompson, *English Working Class*, 367–68.

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70. "Report of Missionary Society," *Minutes of South Carolina Conference*, January 13, 1847, 11, HSSCC; *SCA*, June 26, 1840, September 15, 1843, September 29, 1843.

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71. Albert H. Stoddard, "Origin, Dialect, Beliefs and Characteristics of the Negroes of the South Carolina and Georgia Coasts," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 28 (September, 1944): 186–95; Geoffrey Parrinder, *Religion in Africa* (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1969), Chapters 2, 3, 5, and especially 7; Views on the "spirit" versus the "letter" of Christian doctrine are based on Friedrich Hegel, *Early Theological Writings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), Chapter 2, ii, "The Moral Teaching of Jesus, (a) The Sermon on the Mount Contrasted with the Mosaic Law and with Kant's Ethics": iv, "The Religious Teaching of Jesus"; E. J. Hobsbawn, *Primitive Rebels*, 2nd ed. (New York: Praeger, 1963), Intro., especially Chapters 1–3.

72. "Pastoral Address," *Minutes of South Carolina Conference*, December 25, 1844, 14–15, HSSCC; *SCA*, January 29, 1847; Norwood, *American Methodism*, 208–9; Barnes, *Southern Baptist Convention*, 40–41; *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 71–72.

7. *To Make Them Better Slaves: Baptist Persuasion, 1830–1861*

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1. *Proceedings of the Meeting in Charleston, South Carolina, May 13–15, 1845 on the Religious Instruction of the Negroes* (Charleston: B. Jenkins, 1845), 49; Theodore Rosengarten, *Tombee, Portrait of a Cotton Planter, Journal of Thomas B. Chaplin, 1812–1890* (New York: William Morrow, 1986), 146–47; *CAJ*, June 20, 1834; Harvey H. Jackson, "Hugh Bryan and the Evangelical Movement in South Carolina," *William and Mary Quarterly* 47, 3rd. ser., no. 4 (October, 1986): 594–95; Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 152–57; A. H. Newman, *A History of the Baptist Churches in the United States* (New York: Christian Literature, 1894), 4–6, 79; David Benedict, *A General History of The Baptist Denomination in America and Other Parts of the World* (New York: Lewis Colby, 1848 repr. from 1813 ed.), 701–3; Joe Madison King, *A History of South Carolina Baptists* (Columbia: General Board, South Carolina Baptist Convention, 1964) 212–14; H. A. Tupper, ed., *Two Centuries of the First Baptist Church in South Carolina, 1683–1833* (Baltimore: R. H. Woodland, 1899), 224–25; Euhaw Baptist Church Mss , March 14, 1834, Lawton Family Papers, SCL; Charlotte Verstille to Nancy Ver-

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stille, March 2, 1831, Tristram Verstille Papers, SCL; *Minutes of the Savannah River Baptist Association*, 1802, October 17, 1817, November 27, 1830, BC.

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2. James Busch, "The Beaufort Baptist Church," Beaufort County Historical Society Paper, n.d., 13, Beaufort Township Library, Beaufort, South Carolina; *CAJ*, January 6, 1832; William M. Baker, *The Life and Labours of the Reverend Daniel Baker, D. D., Pastor & Evangelist* (Philadelphia: William & Alfred Martien, 1859), 145–56; James H. Cuthbert, *Life of Richard Fuller* (New York: Sheldon Co., 1879), 67–68; *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 22, 1831, 24, November 26, 1831, 18, 20, November 23, 1833, 10, BC; see Appendix C,[A] Table C.1 lists the churches within the Savannah River Baptist Association in 1833, and indicates the number of baptisms for that year.

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3. *Minutes of the Euhaw Baptist Church, 1831–1875*, December 21, 1831, 41, February 18, 1832, 12, June 23, 1832, 16, August, 1832, 18, SCL; James W. Busch, "Beaufort Church," 15; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 79–82, 104–5; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 147. Some Episcopalian planters participating in the 1831 revival subsequently became liberal contributors to the Methodist cause of religious instruction of the slaves. *Minutes of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church*, February 10, 1836, 22, January 9, 1839, 18–19, HSSOC; *CAJ*, January 26, 1838. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 20, 1834, BC.

4. Appendix C,[A] see tables C.1 and C.2. The fluctuation noticeable in the membership of mainland churches occurred because new churches drew members away from older congregations. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November, 1834, taken from the pages of the *Southern Baptist and General Intelligencer*, January 3, 1835, BC.

5. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 21, 1835, 4, BC; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 16; Charles C. Jones, *The Religious Instruction of the Negroes of the United States* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969; repr. from 1842 ed.), 96–98; Chalmers D. Davidson, *The Last Foray: The South Carolina Plantations in 1860: A Sociogical Study* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1975), 96–98.

6. Bynum Shaw, *Divided We Stand: The Baptists in American Life* (Durham: Moore Publishing, 1874), 113–14; Newman, *Baptist Church in the United States*, 304–6; Guion G. Johnson, *A Social History of the Sea Islands* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1930), 45, 103–4, 117; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 15; *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 24, 1849, BC. William W. Barnes, *The Southern Baptist Convention, 1845–1953* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1954), 19; H. Shelton Smith, *In His Image, But . . . Racism in Southern Religion, 1780–1910* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972), 53–55; Reverend Dr. Richard Furman, *Exposition of the Views of the Baptists, Relative to the Colored Population in the United States, in A Communication to the Governor of South Carolina* (Charleston: A. E. Miller, 1823), 6.

7. Shaw, *Divided We Stand*, 113–16; Barnes, *Southern Baptist Convention*, 20–21; Smith, *In His Image, But*, 117–21, 127–28; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 227; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, September 12, 1840, 9, BC; *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 21, 1835, 4, November 25, 1837, 5, October 24, 1840, 3, BC.

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8. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 24, 1838, 6, November 23, 1839, 11, October 23, 1841, 12, November 26, 1842, 4–5.

9. Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 153, 227; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 16; *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 21, 1835, 4, BC.

10. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 25, 1841, BC.

11. Jones, *Religious Instruction*, 210–11; John B. Adger, D. D., *My Life and Times, 1810–1899* (Richmond, Va.: Presbyterian Committee of Publication, 1899), 198–99; *Proceedings*

A, [For Appendix C, see Category 795, pp. 337-339--Analyst]

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Beaufort Baptist Church, Membership Rolls, and see Appendix C, tables C.1 and C.2; *Minutes, Euhaw Baptist Church*, 11–12, 14, 16, 18–19, 32, 55–56, 58, 66–68, 70; Jones, "Old Black Swamp Church."

23. Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 79–82; Stoney, "Autobiography of Grayson," 36; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, passim, BC; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 13–17. Within this same article is a section entitled "Richard Fuller and Slavery," 11; and see Appendix C, tables C.1 and C.2.

24. Johnson, *Social History*, 103; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 15–20, 67–79; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 14–16.

25. *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, passim, BC; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 81–106; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 14–16.

26. "Former Slaves Recollect Fuller," in Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 106–113; Charlotte Forten, "Life on the Sea Islands," Part I, *Atlantic Monthly* 13 (May, 1864): 589–90.

(M95) 27. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 26, 1853, 10–11; November 25, 1854, 16; November 14, 1857, 10–11, BC; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, July 12, 1857, 2–3, 35; November 7, 1857, 241–43, BC.

(127) 28. This is an estimate and represents population based on the 1830 census returns. U.S. Census Office, *Sixth Census, 1840* (Washington: T. Allen, 1841), 95; see Appendix C. tables C.1 and C.3.

(M95) 29. See Appendix C, table C.2; U.S. Census, *Sixth Census*, 95–96, 226–27; *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 22, 1845, 16, BC; *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 48–50; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, 273, BC.

30. *Minutes, Savannah River Baptist Association*, November 25, 1848, 5, November 1859, BC; see Appendix C, table C.3.

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31. Baker, *Life of Labours*, 155–56; Busch, "Beaufort Church," 13; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 15–16, 64–65, 67–75; John Stapleton Papers, SCL, have information on the Rhetts, who bought Frogmore Plantation, St. Helena, from Stapleton in 1836; Jones, "Old Black Swamp Church"; Charlotte Verstille to Nancy Verstille, March 2, 1821, Tristram Verstille Papers, SCL; Diary of John Edwin Fripp, Beaufort Township Library; For Princeton preference see "Notes and Documents; Antebellum and War Memories of Mrs. Telfair Hodgson," Sarah Hodgson Torian, ed., *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 27, no. 4 (December, 1953): 352; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 88–91; Johnson, *Social History*, 103–11; Hill Diary, SHC; Baptist Church at Black Swamp Mss., Lawton Family Papers, SCL; George P. Rawick, *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, 19 vols., *South Carolina Narratives*, vols. 2 and 3 in 4 Parts (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing), II (1) 155–58, 161–62; Jenkins Mikell, *Rumblings of the Christ Wheels* (Columbia: The State Co., 1923), 201; Johnson, *Social History*, 114–15; Henry Noble Sherwood, ed., Introduction, "Journal of Miss Susan Walker, March 3d to June 6, 1862," *Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* 7 (January–March, 1912): 5.

32. Mikell, *Christ Wheels*, 201–2; Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record*, Supp. I (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1871), 197–202; William W. Freehling, *Prelude to Civil War* (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), 353–56; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 140–43, 203–11; Mason Crum, *Gullah, Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1940), 35–54.

33. Edward L. Pierce, "The Freedmen at Port Royal," *Atlantic Monthly*, 12 (September, 1863): 295.

34. Janet Duitsman Cornelius, "God's Schoolmaster: Southern Evangelists to the Slaves, 1830–1860," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), 16–22; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 140–58.

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35. Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller, 140–58*; Smith, *In His Image, But*, 133–36, 138–39; King, South Carolina Baptists, 211–12.

36. David Donald, ed., *Inside Lincoln's Cabinet* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1954), 69–70.

37. William Howard Russell, *My Diary North and South*, Fletcher Pratt, ed. (New York: Harper Brothers, 1854), 76–77; Busch, "Beaufort Church," sections entitled "Work among the Negroes," 3 and "Richard Fuller and Slavery," 1; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, October 9, 1840, 11, October 8, 1841, 23, October 8, 1842, 39, BC; *Minutes, Euhaw Baptist Church*, October 9, 1836, 59; September 24, 1838, 66, SCL; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 104–6; C. C. Pinckney to William Capers, January 24, 1835, HSSCC; *SCA*, September 29, 1843; Rawick, *American Slave, South Carolina* II (2) 72–73, 184–85, 279, III (3) 202, 274.

38. *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 49.

39. *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, "Origin of the Colored Societies," October 7, 1839, Business Meeting in which the organization of the societies is discussed, 271–74, January 7, 1842 and November 11, 1840, 12, BC; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 83–104; *CAJ*, January 31, 1834; Field to Moore, March 21, 1833, HSSCC.

40. See Chapter 6.

41. *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, 12, BC.

42. Ibid., 271–72.

43. Ibid., 271–74; Rawick, *American Slave, South Carolina*, II: (2) 185.

44. *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 48–49; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, April 9, 1847, 111, passim, BC; Rawick, *American Slave, South Carolina*, II (2) 184–85; Rev. Mansfield French to Revs. Whipple and Jocelyn in Elizabeth Ware Pearson, *Letters from Port Royal* (New York: Arno Press and New York Times, 1969; repr. from 1906 ed.), 20. The spelling generally is *Praise* House. Black and white Northerners living among the Gullahs during the Civil War spelled the word thusly. But Samuel Lawton did research in the Sea Islands in the 1920s and indicates the word was "Prays," named for its function as a place of prayer. According to Lawton, Gullah pronunciation of the flat "a" and dropping of the final syllable on many words explain why no difference was noted between "prays" and "praise." Lawton interviewed former Sea Island slaves in the 1920s who referred to the plantation meetinghouse as "Pray House" without the "s" sound, or they pronounced two syllables very distinctly, "pray-ers house." Informants stated it was "Way ooner go fur pray." Gullahs changed verbs into nouns without adding the extra ending. Thus, at the meetinghouse, "One pray. Den Anudder lead a pray'—Dat make two prays." Lawton's argument is reinforced by Patricia Guthrie's more recent fieldwork in the 1970s. According to Guthrie, "Praise houses are also known locally and in the literature as prayer and pray houses." The Gullahs' mastering of double meaning however may also inform the discussion. They often asked white Northerners to "jine praise wid we." Also their anthem, "New Jerusulem," stated, "Sing God praise both night and day." Thus the Gullahs went to the meetinghouse to *praise* and *pray*. Samuel Lawton, "The Religious Life of Coastal and Sea Island Negroes," (Ph.D. dissertation, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1939), 54–56; Patricia Guthrie, "Praise House Worship and Litigation Among Afro-Americans on a South Carolina Sea Island," Paper, Sixth Annual Martin Luther King Lecture Series, Purdue University, February 21, 1980, 1.

45. Rawick *American Slave, South Carolina* II (2) 279–80, III (3) 200–202; Diary of John Edwin Fripp, 1857–58 and 1865–68, 24, Beaufort Township Library; Russell, *My Diary North and South*, 71–77; Cuthbert, *Life of Fuller*, 15–20; Minutes, *Beaufort Baptist Church*, April 9, 1841, 15, May 14, 1842, 34, BC. August 12, 1843, 61–62; October 1, 1853, 180,

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74. Forten, "Sea Islands," Part I, 594; Botume, *Amongst the Contrabands*, 157–58.

75. *CAJ*, August 18, 1837; *SCA*, July 7, 1843, August 21, 1840, February 3, 1841, September 29, 1843.

76. As far as total immersion was concerned, Methodist missionaries were willing to baptize slaves in this manner if the slaves so desired. *CAJ*, February 7, 1834; John L. Field to George W. Moore, March 21, 1833 HSSCC; *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, passim, BC; Rawick, *American Slave, South Carolina*, II (2) 184–85; III (3) 202.

77. Towne Diary, 26, 54; Pearson, *Letters from Port Royal*, 26–28; *CAJ*, January 31, 1834, November 20, 1835, July 22, 1836; *SCA*, May 1, 1840, April 8, 1842, June 26, 1843, July 28, 1843.

78. *SCA*, February 16, 1844, October 30, 1846.

79. *SCA*, July 28, 1843; *Proceedings of Charleston Meeting*, 29–50; Russell, *My Diary*, 77; James R. Stuart Recollections, n.d. (around 1850), SHC; *SCA*, March 30, 1849, May 12, 1849, September 6, 1850, July 5, 1855.

80. *SCA*, May 18, 1849; Rosengarten, *Tombee*, 145–47; Fripp Diary, 9, 18, 40, 47, Towne Diary, 22.

8. *Elements of the Head and the Heart: Gullah Interpretations of Christianity*

1. "The Long Look," 2–3, undated sketch of a former slave, Sam Polite, who lived to be over 100 years old, Penn School Papers, vol. 1, SHC. For discussions on the Union victory at Port Royal see Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: The Port Royal Experiment* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1964), 3–12; Theodore Rosengarten, *Tombee: Portrait of a Cotton Planter, Journal of Thomas B. Chaplin, 1812–1890* (New York: William Morrow, 1986), 202–22.

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6. Lawrence W. Levine, *Black Culture and Black Consciousness: Afro-American Folk Thought from Slavery to Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), 43; Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 320–21; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (New York: Collier Books, 1962, repr. from 1870 ed.), 49; Joyner, *Down by the Riverside*,

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15. Berlin, *Freedom: Black Military Experience*, 54–55; Higginson, *Army Life*, 63, 72, 86–105, 149–50; H. G. Spaulding, "Under the Palmetto," *Continental Monthly* 4 (August, 1963): 202–3; Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long*, 64, 87–93.

16. Higginson, *Army Life*, 46–48, 70–71, 240–41; Spaulding, "Under the Palmetto," 196.

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22. Botume, *Amongst the Contrabands*, 204.

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27. Ibid., 71, 236–38, and his Appendix D, 267–76.

28. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long*, 457.

9. *Folk Religion in the Slave Quarters*

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of Plantation Membership on St. Helena Island, South Carolina," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1977).

5. *SCA*, July 28, 1843; Rupert Holland, ed. *Letters and Diary of Laura M. Towne* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969; repr. from 1912 ed.) 162; Rev. Augustine Roots to Rev. Jocelyn, February 8, 1863, AMA; Woofter, *Black Yeomanry*, 243–54; Jenkins Mikell, *Ramblings of the Chariot Wheels* (Columbia: The State Co., 1923), 138; Lawton, "Religious Life," 62–63, 69–72; Guthrie, "Catching Sense," Chapters 4 and 5.

6. Towne Diary, passim; Guthrie, "Catching Sense," 95–97, 117–18; Elsie Clews Parsons, *Folk-lore of the Sea Islands of South Carolina* (Cambridge, Mass: American Folk-lore Society, 1923), 205–6; Lawton, "Religious Life," 61–23, 69–70.

7. Lawton, "Religious Life," 61–63; Guthrie, "Catching Sense," 95–118. The Praise House membership consisted of households. These units were not always filial and might consist of several "outside children." Yet if these children "caught sense" in that household, they were members of that plantation. They were also members of the Praise House, could be buried in the plantation graveyard, and after slavery, could use the land. Plantation members tried to keep nonmembers off the land. Guthrie, "Catching Sense," 116–22.

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15. *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, May 14, 1842, 34, BC; "Religious Life," Part I, 478; Lawton, "Religious Life," 71–72.

16. David Thorpe to John Mooney, January 25, 1863, Dubbs Papers, Thorpe Series, SHC; Raymond, "Religious Life," Part I, 479–80; Towne Diary, 52, 162; Lawton, "Religious Life," 36–37.

17. *Minutes, Beaufort Baptist Church*, 272–73, BC; Guthrie, "Catching Sense," 93–94; Towne Diary, 52, 162.

18. Towne Diary, 52, 162; John L. Field to George W. Moore, March 21, 1833, HSSCC; *SCA*, June 26, 1840; Pearson, *Port Royal*, 43–44; Guthrie, "Catching Sense," 88–89, 93–94.

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19. *SCA*, April 18, 1843, July 28, 1843, September 6, 1839.

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forms of art in which his African forebears excelled. However, it must be kept in mind that *Art for Art's* sake never existed in the life of the African natives. Their dances and their music were not separated from daily life, and until about 1900 this attitude persisted among our Negroes in the rural sections. Now it is the fashion to imitate the white man, and the results are unspeakably dull.

Survivals, such as these I mention, have come to light—more or less as a side issue—in searching for links connecting the dances and songs of our Georgia Negroes with those of the African natives. As far as the songs are concerned, it would be gratifying to be able to say definitely what proportion of African influence is shown and what should be attributed to America. Unfortunately the methods of research employed today by most musicologists do not produce results that can be considered reliable. I would not accept as authoritative the findings of an anthropologist who based his conclusions concerning the African food tabu found in Georgia on what he learned from me. And I am no more willing to accept the word of the musicologist who depends on transcriptions found in books, and on inadequate phonograph records, to decide what the slave music owes to Europe.

In my experience transcriptions and records are both too susceptible to the biased interpretation of musicians trained in the European idiom. Far too many know nothing about African music, and do not care to learn anything about it at first-hand from the ex-slaves and their children. When they stop voicing the suspicion that the Negro spirituals derived their syncopation from Europe, probably from the Scottish folksong—then, and not before, shall I be ready to take their pronouncements seriously.

African Songs

FREEWILLUM

James Rogers (born in Liberty County) tells me this song, and the one following, were sung by Dublin Scribben. To use his own words: "Ole man Dublin he belong' to de Andersons o' Sunbury an' every day or two Miss Bertha would sen' me ober fo' him—to talk de ole African talk. I heered him, but I was too small to remember what he said, but I remember de songs 'cause I always p'int it on my mind about de t'ing." [51]

The first song did not sound like English, but when Rogers divorced the words

[51] *Tunes mean far more to the Negroes than words, I notice, and are not easily forgotten.*